

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

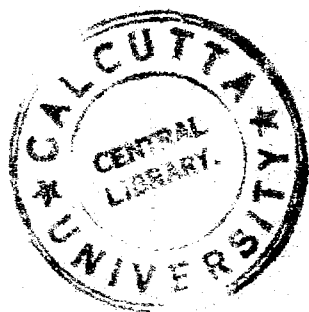
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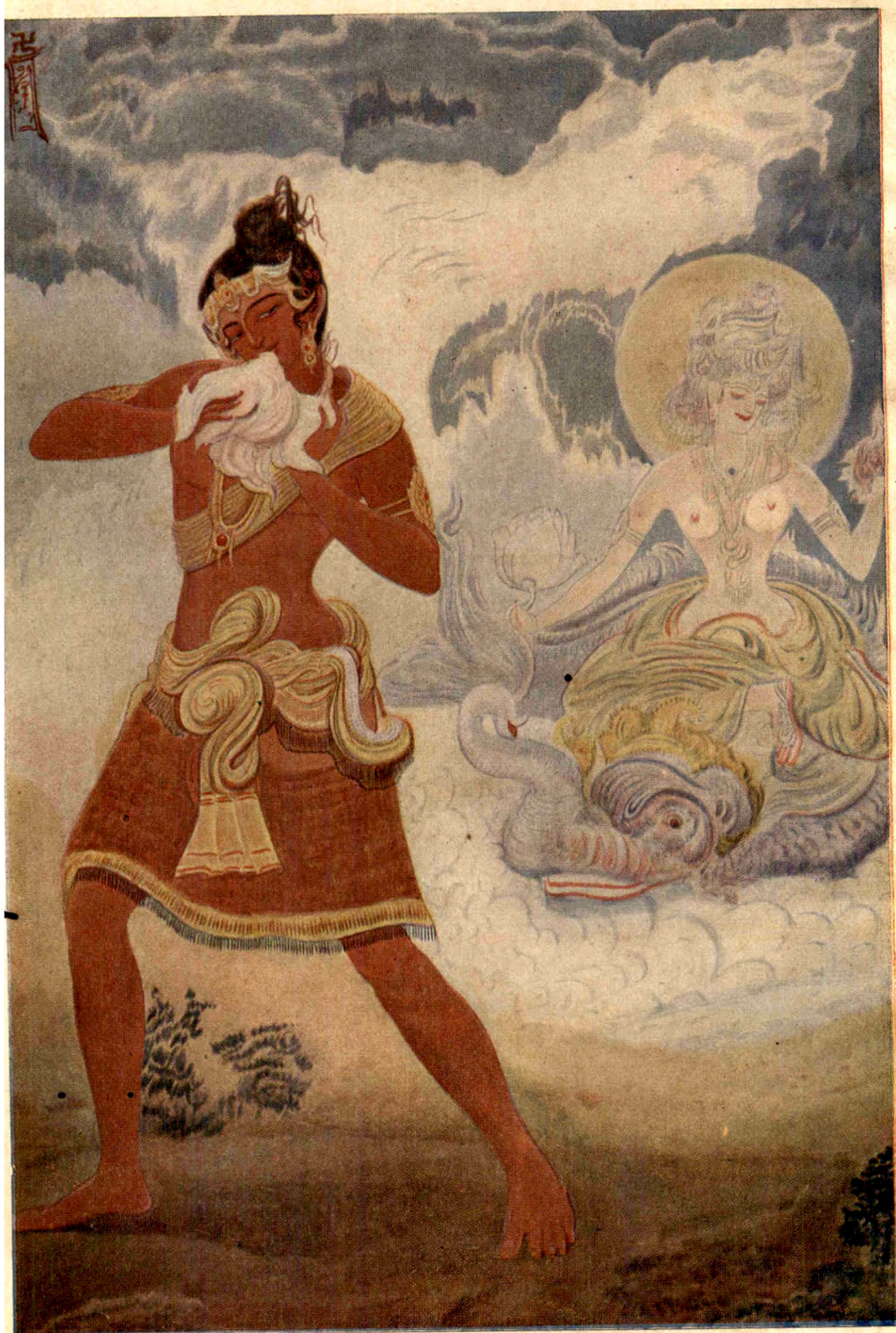
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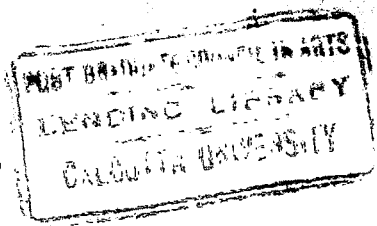
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BHAGIRATHA AND GANGA

Artist—Pramodekumar Chattopadhyaya



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1926

THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION¹

The word 'culture' is derived from the cultivation of land, and the term 'civilization' is born of civic, municipal life. Rooted in Greek, developing through Latin media, both these words point to the ultimate source of our Western speculations. 'Culture' bears a popular character—a homely complexion; whereas 'civilization' is a sum-total of cultural elements, capable of import and export. The modern Orient has ingeniously translated the word 'culture' into Arabic. It is, indeed, a manifest borrowing from modern Western terminology. In the cultural language of Islam the word 'civilization' has likewise been derived—centuries ago—from the Western, indeed from the Greek, vocabulary; and is intimately associated with the Greek conception of *polis*. Both history and philology establish that here is not a case of analogical development, but of direct importation, and that the Orient never knew the Greek *polis* as anything but foreign and extraneous. Unknown in the Orient is the free man in a free city. Thus the philological analysis leads us to a double conclusion: first, that Islamic civilization is

¹ Translated from the German of Prof. O. H. Becker.

woven of Western elements, and, as such, is a mixed product; and secondly, that, in spite of its affinity with the Greek world, it is in character entirely different from Western civilization. Islamic civilization is Asiatized Hellenism. By Hellenism is not to be understood the Grecised and Orientalised civilization of the Roman Empire of the Cæsars, but the Hellenism that was moulded by Christian influences—Hellenism of the fifth and the sixth centuries. What distinguished the Hellenism of the fifth and the sixth from that of the first and the second centuries was that it was no longer a living, flowing thing, but a rigidly syncretistic system, made up of European and Oriental strands.

The early period of Byzantine history has not been thoroughly investigated—the sources, indeed, are scanty. Here in Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Syrian disguises, a spiritual world, complete by itself, confronts us—a spiritual world which may best be described as Christian Hellenism. In it the East and the West hold the scale tolerably even.

With the advent of Islam Asiatization sets in. The Arab 'Völkerwanderung' created fresh political frontiers.

In spite of differences between the Latin West and the Greco-Oriental East—the quondam world of Paganism—a Christian world constituted an intellectual unity. Though politically no longer a single whole—the people of western Asia and Africa had been yet of one thought and mind with the West; and, with the tie of a common faith, exchange of ideas between them was always possible. Now, they were cut off from the West.

A certain amount of intellectual and a great deal of commercial intercourse, indeed, continued; but the barrier lay in the fact of a new, great Asiatic World-Empire on the basis of Islam. The centre of gravity of the Caliph's empire lay in the East and, with the process of the Sun, moved more and more into inner Asia. True, Christian Hellenism lived on. But, in course of time, it was Asiatized by the Asiatic

peoples in precisely the same way as on Western soil it was Westernized by the entirely different genius of the Westerners.

The Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks evolved Islamic civilization from Christian Hellenism. Let us take the Arabs first. They did not, to be sure, create this civilization, as is popularly believed. A not inconsiderable civilization of their own the Arabs undoubtedly had. They had the ethics of blood-revenge—the art of poetry—great commerce—tendencies to town civilization—but their contribution to Islamic civilization was merely a contribution; for Islam did not take into account the fundamental sociological characteristics of the Arab people. The Arabs gave to the new structure their language, because the founders and the first rulers of the society were united by a common religious faith, the Sacred Book of which happened to be in Arabic. Through the Qur'an important principles of the old Arab Law became the common property of the Islamic world, but the religion of Islam was not the creation of the Arabs. Only scientific materialism can regard Islam as the religion of the desert.

In scorn of and in ingratitude to Arabism the Prophet preached a Hellenistic culture-religion, with a tinge of Hellenistic city-life. It is a matter of indifference whether you trace the inspiration to Judaism or to Christianity. The fact remains that the preaching of Mohamed only attained its full significance when, away from the religion-indifferent, booty-loving tribes of the desert, it was reduced to a system under Judeo-Christian clash and co-operation, and was substituted by peoples, entirely unlike the Arabs in matters religious, in the place of their inherited state-church.

There were the Christian peoples of Western Asia—brought up on Byzantine culture—and, in still greater measure, the Persians, whose views, regarding the connexion of State and Religion, gave its characteristic stamp to Islam

in the days of the Caliphate of Baghdad—a stamp which Islam has not lost even to this day. And, indeed, this peculiar Persian stamp was impressed not only on the religion and the State of Islam but upon the entire course of its civilization. The distinctive religious character of Islamic civilization is not Arab but Persian. But, again, it would be misleading to scent everywhere the traces of Persian primacy in Islamic civilization. The Persian hypothesis rests on much the same sort of basis as ‘the civilization of the Arabs.’ We cannot adequately realize the shifting and mixing of peoples and individuals in the vast empire of the Caliph, or, with such shifting and mixing, the fusion of material creations and the welding-together of intellectual, artistic ideas. If Christian Hellenism was a mixed product, far removed from any particular national culture, the civilization of the Caliphate was the outcome of still more multifarious sources. And, verily, it developed into a unity merely because these material and intellectual creations were kept well within the limits of a firmly-knit State. Out of an abundance of living national cultures and historical inheritances a new state-culture was slowly evolved. And, with justice, it bears the name of Islam; for, when the fabric of the State fell to pieces religion, as a spiritual frame-work, linked with the State, held together the entire cultural inheritance of Islam, and transmitted it far beyond the confines of the ancient Caliphate.

In the rise of Islamic civilization the Turks have but a modest share. It is confined to the individual efforts of their Savants and Statesmen. At first the Turko-Mongolian element asserted itself destructively, but afterwards a new tendency manifested itself in the Asiatic world.

The idea of the State was transformed—religion assumed a more austere form—and made many claims which had hitherto lain neglected. A new style arose and distant Central and Eastern Asia sent out their emissaries as far as the Mediterranean.

As for the Turks in particular—once more, with them, the struggle between the genuine East and Hellenism repeats itself. The Turkish empire becomes the heir of the Byzantines. The Turks, indeed, brought much more with them than the Arabs once did; and thus, above everything else, Islamic civilization, for long, became capable of transcending its barrier and going beyond its limits. It became, so to speak, capable of export, but it also felt the need of adjusting and adapting itself to existing conditions. No longer, as in the times of Arabism, did this adaptation cover well-nigh every sphere of human activity, but it limited itself to spheres social and political. Only by such historical consideration can the exceptional cultural position of Constantinople in the Turkish Empire be rightly understood.

One last feature, which for the modern Islamic civilization of Western Asia has been of great moment, yet remains to be considered—the influence of French civilization. Its consideration helps us to an understanding of Western cultural influences on the East in general, as also to an understanding of the character of Islamic civilization in particular.

In the past Western ideas and institutions had, indeed, made their way into the Orient—Greek philosophy, Greek art, Greek State-system. But what was the result? Philosophy degenerated into scholasticism—and though Aristotelian trend of thought showed more vitality in the orthodox circles of the East than in our academic lecture halls, Hellas was dead. And, again, though we find stylistic traces of Greek art as an element everywhere in Islamic art, yet *Hellenism was, none the less, stifled in an Eastern embrace*. The Greek *polis* strove to conquer the East, but it perished in the old Oriental despotism. The East, true enough, accepted the results of Western civilization, but through such acceptances there arose something new—the East proved itself the stronger in the end.

Intellectually, the East appropriated new methods, new modes of thought and style; but in character it remained unaffected. Thus it is that the strongest transformation of Western ideas is perceptible in that chief sphere of popular activity—the idea of the State. Just as the old Orient swallowed up Hellenic art, so did the Middle Ages and the new Orient swallow up the structures of the Crusading period and the rococo. Out of them something distinctly Oriental has emerged.

Thus we may follow the influences of Maupassant and Auguste Comte. They accepted the external forms of the French Parliament, but the Oriental character is in no way affected by them. The most interesting, perhaps, is the transformation of political ideas.

Midhat Pasha, in theory, accepts the idea of the citizenship of the State; but, in practice, the predominance of the Turks continues. As for the idea of nationality, it reveals itself in the form of a *Musalman nation*, *i. e.* either in the form of Pan-Islamism or in the shape of a mystic Turanism. Despite European ideas and Western technique, the Orient is still far removed from us. The Oriental loves to dream of the golden days of the Caliphate. The entire difference becomes clear when we consider our attitude towards Gothicism. Wherein, then, consists the character of the East which defies European influences and which refuses to bend to them and actually transforms them in its own way?

With all timidity for rash generalization the Orient strikes us as something constituting a whole—a unity. We are concerned with this unity here, as it presents itself in the shape of Islam. But East Asianism offers strikingly similar features too.

Individual nations are, to be sure, differently constituted. National cultures of the Turks and Persians respectively are fundamentally different from each other, but in both cases their Islamic civilization is precisely the same—however, the

individual national genius may, at times, break through the overlying crust.

This civilization, however, could not have matured, if, originally, it had not been of an autochthonous spirituality, nor without it could it have continued so today. We are not talking here of national culture, but of the common Islamic civilization which we feel as something external to us.

The contrast may well be expressed by two typical expressions. To Westerners time is money—to the Eastern haste comes from the devil. Herein lies the fundamental problem—the inner attitude to work. Contemplative and active outlook compete with one another.

Not, indeed, that our inner orientation deserves unconditional precedence. We, Westerners lack the contemplative mood—that patient awaiting which, in so high a degree, belongs to Islam.

It is the subtle shades of emotions and tastes: problems of psychical equilibrium and inner judgment—that is to say, volitional moments—it is these which divide the East and the West; not so much questions of intelligence or rationalism.

Of intelligence and rationalism Islam has as much as we. Here our common master—the ancient Greek—reveals himself; but in those other spheres the Orient has retained its individuality. We will do her an injustice if we judge her by our standard. *Islamic civilization is naught but a fusion of ancient Greek intellectuality with Oriental contemplativeness.*

If that civilization conveys to us the impression of being petrified—it is due to the rationalization of fatalism which is common to all primitive peoples. To overcome fatalism is a question of education—not of character.

Important, nay decisive for the future of the Orient, will it be, if Islam protects the fertile swamp of its irrationalism from the spring-tide of European rationalism.

• S. KHUDA BUKHSH •

ARRIVAL OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS AT SURAT

*Sir William Norris on his way to the Mogul's Court :
Audience with the Emperor.*

At last on January 27, 1700-1, the Ambassador was able to start on his journey. Naturally the event was not without its ceremonial. The Consul with his Council and staff of the factory came to bid farewell. His retinue, which consisted of 60 Europeans and 300 Indians accompanied by guns and camels, etc., made an impressive spectacle. The pomp was soothing. "I entred my palankeen and marchd much after y^e same manner as my Entry into Suratt." The start was marked by some evil womens as the heavily laden carts broke down at Nockedobowry and delayed him two days till others could be got from Surat. This enforced delay Sir William used to organize the expedition so that all concerned should know their special duties.

The march led them first through some very pleasant country, where on February 1st, just beyond Beroa they met a convoy of Osman Shew. There was a rumour that the Mogul Emperor was dying, and Osman was getting together as much money as possible in order to dispute the succession with his brothers. He was also soliciting the assistance of friends to the same end.

Sir William has some interesting observations on the country through which they passed. The "Rajahs people as they call them.....are a sort of Robbers y^e live in y^e woods." Much of the country was wild woodland, but not all. For instance, at Noroporee they encamped in a mango garden and, the trees being all in blossom, Sir William found the atmosphere "very refreshing and sweet." There was a *Caravansera* near the place where charity was given to poor

travellers: it had been built by an unmarried daughter of Aurangzebe.

They passed through several places on the way to Dehell, which was reached on February 7 after a strenuous journey up the mountains with their heavy baggage. The diary records that most of the land thereabouts belonged to "Rajah Shibah Gi" and had not been conquered by the Mogul. As our Ambassador looked on the country with his English eyes it did not seem surprising to him that armies even two hundred miles off should draw supplies from so fruitful a region. Nor was the interest of natural history wanting, for he records that he had seen a chameleon which changed its colour more than forty times during an afternoon.

But even in this Eden the trail of the serpent was encountered. A day later, while at Kokeli, he learnt from Rustomji that the Governor of Surat had been intriguing with Assed Khan that the latter might use his influence with the Mogul to prevent the issue of a *phirmaund*. And it was demanded of Sir William that he must "first give security to free all y^e Mogulls subjects ships from piracy." Worse still, two spies of the Old Company were found about the Camp and these confessed that some of his peons had been bribed to blow up the ammunition. This story for the time being he ignored.

Pressing on, Pohunnee was passed on the 10th instant. He there saw several castles protected with guns. Two days later another place, Succorea, reminded him of Epping Forest. At Casaree he met on the road the daughter of the Governor of Surat, attended by 600 horse guards and a great "number of women crowded as thick as they could be stufft in Hackneys." This lady was the daughter-in-law of Emanent Khan, Dewan of Ahmadavad. He also met a Rajah Ruganack, a great man in that part of the country.

Turning now to affairs at Surat we find that the friction over piracies near the Red Sea had not abated. Dianatt

Khan had requested the new Company to give security for Zerbatt as the Old Company had undertaken to do. In reply they said that such a guarantee must have the Ambassador's consent, but if that could not be given, still the King and the New Company would make the sea secure from Mocha to Judda, and therefore pressed for the granting of the *phirmaunds*. The Mogul was also informed that the New Company's chief, Sir Nicholas Waite, having arrived at Surat, had expressed himself as willing not only to open the port of Mocha but also to make good the loss of any ships taken at sea. This would force him to clear the seas as far as Burrarab. Sir Nicholas declared this to be totally false, but his hand was forced by Dianatt Khan, who declared that the chief of the Old Company was in prison and all the Old Company's business stopped in consequence. Sir Nicholas took this as a warning to himself and the New Company and felt obliged to secure Zerbatt as the Old Company had done. Later on he was summoned by Dianatt Khan and informed the latter that he was prepared on receipt of the Emperor's *phirmaund* to arrange for convoys to protect the ships sailing to and from Mocha. He pointed out further that as King William had directed the debts of the Old Company to be paid there was no longer need for Sir John Gayer being kept in prison. To this the Governor gave no immediate answer, but said later that the matter would be laid before the Mogul.

Echoes of this controversy were bound to affect Sir William. Immediately after his arrival at Boncalee he heard from Sir Nicholas Waite that Sir John and Lady Gayer, with Mr. Somaster, had been seized and detained, and was warned that his own life might be in danger. As to the latter warning details were not wanting. He was told that forty men had been offered a bribe of 40,000 rupees to assassinate him and that very day one of the Indian servants tried to attack him. But Sir William was not

to be turned aside by methods such as these. Nesampore was reached on the 17th and no apprehensions could repress his interest in seeing Dollabad Castle, where the King of Golconda was imprisoned. Next day he arrived at Coronporaw, a suburb of Aurangabad, which he described as being in point of distance "as Southwarke to London." Here, as usual, they gleaned the gossip of the bazaars, which bore that the Governor of Surat had sent word to the Mogul to the effect that the Old Company was rich and powerful and the New Company poor and with little trade, and that this news had made the Emperor so angry that he had imprisoned all the messengers.

Progress of his journey was delayed at Gelgawn by insubordination on the part of the carters and tentmen. These were duly punished. But their action seemed to be a reflection of the attitude of others superior to themselves, for news arrived that Sir John Gayer was commanded by the Mogul either to pay three lakhs of rupees or else to be expelled from India. At Gelgawn Sir William received a request from "a greate Rajahs Lady" who "sent to desire to have y^e sight of an Englishman havinge heard much in their favour." Unfortunately, however, he had no time to "gratify her curiosity," although she offered a considerable present.

When Demandevee was reached the expedition was attacked by a party of Indians. These, however, were soon dispersed by a show of arms. Here Sir William met a Frenchman, Pet de Laval, physician to Gazdee Chawn [Khan]. This man spoke slightly of Assed Khan and expressed the opinion that Sultan Akbar was at the head of the strongest party amongst the brothers, because his mother was a Rajput. All the Mogul's sons were then forming parties in their own interests, and Cambouch, the youngest brother, was to his mind weakest of all. This chance meeting may help to explain the friction that afterwards existed between the Ambassador and Assed Khan. The next few

days were uneventful. On the 22nd they arrived at Shagor where some "stragglers Sevagis" were caught. These "Rouges" had string in their Bosom of Twisted silke and cotton on purpose to strangle those they caught." This is one of the earliest recorded traces of Thuggism. At Shagor he was greeted by the Governor and in three more days they arrived at Beer. Here there was found a factory in which cloth was made for the Mogul's army.

About this time the Ambassador received a very gratifying letter from the Council at Surat. They had shortly before received his appeal for money and now authorised him to exceed the sum of 200,000 rupees granted for his expenses. This liberality was, no doubt, inspired by accounts received of plots by the Old Company to frustrate the objects of the Embassy.¹

Now came the most difficult and tedious part of the journey. The country was rugged and mountainous, making progress both slow and difficult. They were not sorry, therefore, to arrive on the 28th at Bohan. The trials of the march were made worse by a theft of some chests belonging to the servants. The thieves were, however, caught and tied all day to the carriages. Later on, they were liberated and allowed to go having first been warned that they would be shot if they appeared again.

At Perenda on March 1st the diary records that the Mogul had in his conquests taken care "not to leave y^e least footsteps of Idolatry nor have I seen any more than one Pagod." In other ways, too, the country through which they passed before arriving on 6th March at Baramporee was full of interest. Three weeks were spent here. Assed Khan's camp was found close at hand but the Ambassador's already existing prejudices were strengthened by the want of order prevailing there. When, therefore, the Kotwal offered a guard

¹ See Surat Factory Records, Vol. 6.

Sir William refused it at once because, as he bluntly puts it, these "Catwalls are themselves y^e greatest Rouges and those they pretend for y^e guard are a pack of pickpocketts and Raschalls." Assed himself on hearing of his coming sent a messenger to say how highly pleased he was at the Ambassador's arrival. He also informed Sir William that an agent had already visited him to discuss matters connected with the Old Company: but that he had replied stating that he was daily expecting the arrival of an Ambassador from the King of England.

All the carts and hackeries had now to be sent back to Surat as their drivers were unwilling to proceed further. Mr. Harlewyn submitted an account of the expenditure already incurred together with an estimate of the probable further expenses at the *Laskar*. It was understood that the Emperor's favourite daughter was at Barampore and Sir William was courteously anxious to pay his respects to her. The heat was now making travelling difficult but they determined to accomplish the journey with all possible speed. The duties of religion were, however, not neglected. Divine Service was performed in his tent on Sunday the 9th, when a large number of Indians were present. Sir William was astonished to find that the Vizier's riches consisted chiefly of gold and jewels and that his harem included 30 wives and 800 other women. He records that it was impossible to "believe how dissolute and luxurious y^e lives of these greate men are." He heard that they were drunk every day and he adds "The Mogull himselfe winks att it and drinks not a drop himselfe but they say is grown fearefull and jealous of all mankind."

The stay at Barampore was marked by the loss of a great opportunity. Assed Khan, the Mogul's Vizier, had already, as above noted, shewn the Ambassador some civility, but Sir William appears to have kept aloof from him for various reasons. A difference arose over some point of etiquette in the official reception that would be necessary. The Vizier's

Secretary, when written to, refused to agree to the Ambassador's suggestions as to the proper ceremonial. Sir William then decided not to pay the visit. Later on the Secretary agreed to all the details insisted on, save those which concerned such trivial things as drums and trumpets. In spite of these concessions, which shewed that the Vizier wanted to be conciliatory, Sir William declined to yield and the meeting did not take place. Assed Khan then withdrew his concessions and suggested other plans to which Sir William felt he could still less agree. Apparently the Ambassador was convinced that Assed Khan had resolved to be unfriendly and this he attributed to the Vizier's close association with the Old Company. He feared that if he should pay the visit he might experience such incivility as would leave him no alternative but a complaint to the Mogul himself. And in this way the interview would do no good to the New Company's interests. Personally he had no doubt as to where the trouble lay and support to his belief was soon forthcoming. It was reported that a Procurator for the Old Company had been distributing presents and that Assed Khan had provided him with letters of recommendation to several persons of importance at the *Laskar*. Sir William felt that his worst suspicions had been confirmed.

Meanwhile the need to out-bribe was clear, and Sir William wrote on March 11th to Sir Nicholas Waite regarding the general finances of the mission. He quoted Rustomji to the effect that no money would be procurable either at Bramporee or at the *Laskar* upon bills drawn either on Surat or Bengal. "What may be the true reason, I will not say," he remarked, "whether the accounts the Shroffs here have from their correspondents of the New Company's present want of cash or the designe of the Shroffs to ruin Rustums credit or whether this be the method the Old Company's Brokers & Shroffs have taken to hinder us from any supply's and ruin us that way....."; but the want of "due and seasonable supplies"

would ruin his mission. He urged Rustomji if possible to borrow on his own credit but was told in reply that it had been with the utmost difficulty that two lacs of rupees had been borrowed by him before Sir Willam's arrival and 50,000 rupees since and that he could not undertake to obtain further sums. Sir William therefore at the earliest opportunity communicated the financial position to the Council at Surat. Mr. Harlewyn submitted an account shewing amounts received from the Council as compared with those either already expended or likely to be required during the twenty days before they should arrive at the *Laskar*. This was very far from being reassuring, because the balance likely to be at his credit with the bank at the time of his arrival at Court would not exceed 12,000 rupees. The Ambassador, therefore, warned the Council that there was urgent need for more money if his mission was to be successful.

The same day Mr. Edward Norris wrote to the Consul on the same topic of finance and, as robbers were making the road dangerous, took the precaution of sending two copies of the correspondence with a few days' interval between. He also mentioned that Mr. Lawrence Hackett and a few others would be sent back to Surat within a few days. Sir William gave written instructions to Mr. Hackett concerning his return journey to Surat. He was accompanied by several members to the Ambassador's retinue, including Mr. John Maxwell, Surgeon; Mr. Wingate, Mr. Love, Mr. Ditchfield, Mr. Weston, Mr. John Lund and Mr. Charles Viccary. Sir William warned Hackett not to allow any "Profaneness, Debauchery or ill Practices whatsoever to the Scandall of the Holy Christian religion and dishonour of the English Nation; but that to preserve the purity of the first and reputation of the latter be your great care." On whose account, we wonder, was this warning given? Along with them as attendants went 20 Indian servants for whom he was to supply "Rose according to Custome." Hackett was also provided with 1,500

rupees for his expenses on the way for which he should give an account to the President and Council at Surat.¹

It was arranged that the Mogul's Chief Eunuch should pay a visit to the Embassy on the 14th, but this was postponed, ostensibly on the plea of indisposition. Sir William however ascribed it to Assed Khan. Two days later the Second Eunuch came to visit him. He asked some "cunninge" questions and appeared particularly anxious to know whether any persons wore a hat or sat down in the presence of the King of England. To his questions on this point Sir William tactfully replied that only Ambassadors were allowed to do so.

About this time fresh disorders broke out in camp owing to intrigues of the Dutch Runnagado, the Jew and also Lund and Viccary. The Jew had been declaring that the Embassy was a sham; it was discovered also that the Runnagado was in close touch with Assed's chief favourites and that he had been trying to persuade the soldiers to desert. The Runnagado was now arrested.

In all his troubles Sir William found consolation in religion. He was especially impressed by the conduct of Indians who attended Divine Service on the 18th and notes in his diary "I have seen many Congregations in England behave themselves with lesse decency.....I wish it may any ways be Instrumental to their conversion."

About the same time he remarks on the difficulties raised by the Vizier's Secretary about arrangements to be made for the interview, and letters were received from the President and Council at Surat advising the use of unlimited sums of money in order to attain his object. They did not, however, provide money for the purpose.

The chief Eunuch, having recovered sufficiently to visit him on the 19th, made a demand for further presents. The

¹ See Factory Records, Misc., Vol. 20.

Mogul sent an enquiry as to the number of guns Sir William had. This was sixteen, but only four were mounted. He was then requested to mount the rest, so that "well armed I would drive all y^e Mogulls Enemy's before me." Annoyed by these importunities, Sir William must have longed ardently to get once more under way, and a feasible excuse soon presented itself. The next day Golam Mahmud, son of the Deputy Vizier, sent to ask when he would be ready to start as he wished to travel with him for safety. Sir William had mentioned in a letter that several times on the journey they had been alarmed by mounted parties of the Mogul's enemies from 6,000 to 7,000 strong. These had not dared to approach his party on account of the 60 or 70 well-armed Europeans with 4 field pieces. The enemy burnt several towns within their sight. Sir William now received instructions as to the proceedings at Court and apparently inclined personally to the plan of gaining the friendship of Cambuckh who was high in the Emperor's favour. That friendship once gained he felt clear in his own mind as to the use to which it might be put.

The Procurator of the Old Company had circulated the falsehood that Sir William was not really the King's Ambassador. The Procurator must, therefore, be arrested and kept in irons whatever the consequences as soon as they had arrived at the *Laskar*. But money was needed to oil the wheels of diplomacy, and money was not forthcoming. He found it impossible to obtain further sums on credit from the Shroffs, and once more wrote to Sir Nicholas Waite as to the urgent importance of having sufficient funds in hand, especially at that critical juncture. The want of funds might make necessary the postponement of his public entry to the Mogul's Camp and might even stop all business.¹

Before starting Gowlawn Mahmud proposed to pay him a

¹ See Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.

visit, but owing to the fear of being spied, it was postponed. Next day (24th) Sir William learnt that the reason for this proposed visit was to induce him to use his influence with the Mogul to have the present Governor of Surat dismissed and himself (Golawn Mahmud) put in his place. Sir William could not decide as to the amount of truth in the story but felt it probable that he would learn more on the march. Meanwhile he sent to inform the Vizier's Secretary of his approaching departure. The Secretary, however, seemed to be in a very bad temper and the diary records that "these people neither know nor practise any civility." The Mogul was then besieging the Castle of Parnella.

On March 27th, 1701, the expedition finally left Bram-pore and passed Anur and Junt, reaching Daffcapour four days later.

They arrived at Sergaraw on April 1st, passed the river Krisnah and reached Heerlaw on the 3rd. Resuming the march on 4th April they passed so near the Castle of Parnella, then being besieged by the Mogul, that they could hear the guns. Here the Ambassador learnt that Yarlbeg had received the Emperor's orders concerning his reception. The latter's attitude was extremely friendly. It was believed that the Castle of Parnella would fall in a week's time and that the Mogul would then move on. From an Englishman Sir William now obtained some interesting information which at this point may suitably be recorded. It seems that the Mogul had captured the Castle ten years before, but it had no sooner been put into proper repair than the Rajah scaled and took it in a single night, and had retained it ever since. The batteries in it were very poor. The Mogul's army did not number more than 20,000 although he was paying for 100,000, and the latter fictitious number was a source of great gain to his officers. No doubt their master winked at the practice, for the Mogul, as Sir William writes, "is very cunnige and has spyes upon everybody .& soe good inteligence yt no body can

move a step.....but he knows it." It is indeed interesting to note how general was the system of espionage in the Mogul Empire, especially during Aurangzeb's reign. Among others Manuchi tells us that "throughout his reign Aurangzeb had such good spies that they know (if it may be so said) even men's very thoughts. Nor did anything go on anywhere in the realm, above all in the city of Dihti without his being informed."¹ Aurangzeb's ability was matched only by his inhumanity. The statement made by his historians that he put his father into prison and caused his brother to be assassinated in order to gain the throne is confirmed by Sir William in his diary. It was said indeed that he had repented truly for his actions, but the assertion seems doubtful, as if he still contrived to get rid of persons obnoxious to him under the pretence of "kindnesse & friendship."

April 5th brought a fresh warning from the Council at Surat. They informed Sir William that the Old Company would do their best to secure the help of the Vizier and other important ministers to frustrate his mission. Of more importance, however, they announced that although funds were low they were sending him four bills for Rs. 23,000 and that they had stretched a great point to do so with the object of assisting him. They also informed him that the ship *Harwich* in which he had come to India had been lost near EmagEmoy (?).

Although they were so close to the Emperor's camp the expected audience was delayed owing to the siege and other circumstances, such as the indisposition of the Ambassador and some of his *entourage*. He now began to make acquaintance with some of the chief Mogal officials. Having been advised to write to Yarlebeg, earnestly requesting that he should introduce him to the Emperor's presence, Sir William now did so and received the promise of every assistance. On Yarlebeg's representations the Mogul at once granted the

¹ See Vol. II, p. 18 of *Storia Do Mogor*.

request for proper *dusticks* and also for a suitable place on which to encamp. The Emperor even signed both documents with his own hand and allowed Sir William to choose a spot most convenient for himself.

But powerful as Yarlebeg might be there were others who might possibly be more powerful still. It was presently suggested, therefore, that Ruhullah Khan, the chief steward of the Emperor's household, was the proper person to present Sir William. But the claim of Yarlebeg could not be overlooked, and Edward Norris went to pay him a complimentary visit. He was received with much kindness and cordiality. Sir William considered that in "y^e midst of y^e most base vitious and corrupt Court in y^e Universe this minister alone is virtuous." He also compared Yarlebeg with the "famous Fabricious once Dictator of Rome, who like him as much neglects and slights the pomp, splendor & Grandure of the World as he scorns and abhors the base meanes and vices by w^{ch} 'tis generally supported." No doubt, the fact that Yarlebeg was the Emperor's chosen favourite helped to convince the Ambassador of his wisdom, justice and virtue.

Yarlebeg assured Edward Norris that if any of the Court officers should attempt to put obstacles in the Ambassador's way, he would himself checkmate them. Meanwhile Sir William resolved to impress the people by entering his camp within the *Laskar* with even more pomp than was usual in the country. This was not easy, because although the Governor of Surat had written to Assed Khan that he had sent a strong convoy with Sir William, yet it was well-known to the Mogul and his officers that it was quite unpretentious. Nevertheless Sir William, at least, when on the 10th he marched to his Camp in the Mogul's *Laskar* amid "crowds of gazing people" felt satisfied with the brave show his expedition was making. Yarlebeg sent his own officers to clear the way for him.

But underneath the outward show, there was much hidden depression. Edward Norris complained to Sir Nicholas Waite that Rustomji kept back the Emperor's *Hassabul-Hukum* without the Ambassador's knowledge. Rustomji had been ordered to render to Sir Nicholas a particular account of what he had done. There was little chance of obtaining money from the Shroffs; and no hope of getting any from Bengal.

Next day Sir William received a printed copy of the Act authorising the Old Company to continue as a Corporation. About the same time Thomas Pitt, writing to Simon Holcombe at Vizagapatam, mentioned that the great interest and activity likely to be shown by the two Companies during the next Parliamentary sessions might result in events of extraordinary interest. He also wrote the same day to Sir John Gayer saying that he longed to hear what progress the Embassy was making and added sarcastically that as the Ambassador's entry into Surat was on such a lavish scale, what would it be when he entered the Mogul's Court.¹

At the moment it seemed as though the Ambassador was likely to go to a Court higher even than that of the Mogul. On the 12th he was so ill as to be doubtful of recovering. The Castle of Parnella being still untaken, a messenger was sent by one of the Mogul's officers asking if Sir William and the other Englishmen could assist the Emperor to take it and promising in return that any request made by the Ambassador would be granted. To this no answer could be returned from the sick-bed and Sir William afterwards wrote in his diary, referring to the request, "they have an opinion y^t English men are able to performe any exploits whatever." He heard that the Mogul had been out to discover a means of approaching the castle; and that "tho" carryd openly, saw nobody havinge his eyes always fixed upon a Book² he carryd." His

¹ See Addl. MS. 22, 843, British Museum.

² This would almost certainly be the Koran.

recovery was rapid: four days after almost despairing of his life he was able to continue the business of the Embassy. And not even a violent storm of wind, rain and hail two days later, when several of his tents were blown down, produced any relapse.

On Easter Sunday (April 20th) just before morning service, a mutiny occurred amongst the peons. Mr. Harlewyn and Sir William's brother were with him in his tent at the time. Mr. Beverly with some others was sent to ascertain the cause of the hubbub and he and a gunner were wounded. The guards were called out and in firing wounded two men one of whom afterwards died. Sir William thought it wise to send Mr. Mill at once to acquaint Yarlebeg with what had happened. The latter informed the Emperor, who on enquiry decided that the Ambassador had been justified in commanding the guards to fire. Soon after it was learnt that the Procurator of the Old Company had been in the camp the night before, that the mutineers were drunk with *bhang*¹ and their guns loaded with ball. After it was all over the mutineers went to the *Kotwal*. The Procurator was also there and tried to aggravate matters. Before the *Kotwal* it was stated that the English had killed "8 true believers."

Not content with what they had already done on Easter Monday all the peons went to the Emperor complaining of the conduct of the English. No notice was taken of their complaints except that they were told to go to the *Kazi*. This led Sir William immediately to discharge all peons who had been recruited from Surat and to engage fifty others. Soon after, acting on a hint received, Sir William presented the Mogul with twelve fine brass guns and lent men to work them. This was to help Aurangzeb to take the Castle of Parnella and thereby induce him to grant the *phirmaunds* more readily. The recent trouble had once

¹ An intoxicating drink made from an Indian plant.

more proved the value of Yarlebeg and Sir William apparently could not avoid comparing him in his own mind with Ruhullah Khan who had promised him an early audience with the Emperor. On this promise the Ambassador put no faith as he had no confidence in Ruhullah and considered him his enemy "most inveterate and mighty bribd to be soe by y^e Procuradr for y^e Old Company."

Notwithstanding this private opinion Sir William wavered between the two, as to whose services he should accept. At last a solution presented itself, comic, almost, in its simplicity. At the audience he would be presented by both Yarlebeg and Ruhullah Khan. It was now the end of April and all the great officers, except Assed Khan, had communicated with the Ambassador offering their services. Each had, however, in accordance with the custom of the country, given Sir William to understand that they would expect the usual presents in return. The Ambassador was fully aware of the importance of gaining their goodwill and for that reason was most anxious to have enough money in hand for the purpose. A way to please the Emperor had indeed been already found. Flint ware was scarce in India and a present of this novel kind had filled him with genuine delight. Nevertheless scarcity of funds was still perturbing the Ambassador and he complained of the impossibility of obtaining credit for bills on Surat. A local Shroff, it is true, had promised to supply Rustomji with Rs. 5,000, but only on condition that repayment should be made within a month.

By an irony of fate about that time John Pitt and William Tillard communicated from Madapollam with both the Ambassador and his brother concerning the mint possessed by the Old Company at Madras. The privileges connected with it had been first granted by the King of Golconda, but not confirmed by the Mogul's Government until Mr. Trenchfield and the Consul had obtained confirmation from Khan Box and Assed Khan in the time of President Yates. This

arrangement they asked the Ambassador to do his best to have abolished. They further pointed out that it would be useless to obtain certificates from the Fouzdar for the establishment of a mint at Madapollam because the Old Company as well as others would offer strong objections to the Mogul, and large bribes would be needed in order to counteract their objections.

The audience so long desired and for which so many preparations had been made took place at last on April 28, 1701. Never was so splendid a procession seen in India. Thus does Manuchi describes it: "Never had an Ambassador from Europe appeared with such pomp and magnificence. He erected his tents in the open within sight of the royal army, to prove thereby that he had no fear of Shivāji (the Mahrattahs). He was armed and provided with good cannon, and had a numerous retinue.¹ Luttrell gives a somewhat different account which contains certain exaggerations. He records that the *Shrowsbury* galley from India brought news that the Mogul had ordered 10,000 men "to be planted" on the road for the occasion of Sir William's entry to Court. But neither the Ambassador's own diary nor the records of the East India Company contains any reference to this.²

The procession of the Ambassador was arranged as follows:—

"Mr. Cristloe, Commander of His Excellency's artillery, on horseback.

Twelve carts on which were carried 12 brass cannons as presents.

Five hackeries, with the cloth etc., for presents.

Two Cohors and Messuris, carrying the glassware and looking-glasses for presents.

Two fine Arabian horses, richly caparisoned and two others without caparisons for presents.

Four English soldiers on horseback, guarding the presents.

The Union Flag.

The Red, White and Blue flags.

¹ See Vol. III of *Storia Do Mogor*.

² See Vol. IV, p. 666 of Luttrell's *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*.

Seven state horses, richly caparisoned, two "with English furniture," and five with Indian.

The King's and His Excellency's Crests.

One State palanquin, with English furniture, of silver tissue brocaded.

Two other Crests.

The Musicians in rich liveries, on horseback.

Mr. Bassett, Lieutenant of His Excellency's Footguards, on horseback.

The servants, in rich liveries, on horseback.

The King's and the Ambassador's arms.

One Kettledrum, in livery, on horseback.

Three trumpeters, in liveries, on horseback.

Captain Symonds, Commander of His Excellency's Guards.

Twelve troopers, every way armed and accoutred after the English mode.

Mr. Beverley, Lieutenant of His Excellency's horse guards.

The King's and the Ambassador's Arms richly gilt and very large; the first being borne by sixteen men.

Mr. John Mill and Mr. Whitaker in rich lace coats on horseback.

Mr. Hale, Master of the Horse richly dressed, carrying a sword of State pointed up.

His Excellency, in a rich palanquin, with Indian embroidered furniture.

Four pages, two on each side of his Excellency's palanquin, richly dressed.

Edward Norris, Secretary to the Embassy, in a rich palanquin, carrying his Majesty's letter to the Emperor; on either side Mr. Wingate and Mr. Shuttleworth, in rich lace coats, on horseback.

Mr. Harlewyn, Treasurer, wearing a gold key and Mr. Adiel Mill, Secretary to his Excellency were in the same coach.¹

We have the letter to Sir Nicholas Waite which Sir William, on April 29, wrote from the Emperor's *Laskar*. It contains his own account—a very interesting one—of his audience with the Emperor, and expresses warmly his sense of the special favours bestowed on him. Firstly, it was held at an earlier date than he had expected. Secondly, the Emperor not only granted the request for an audience but even fixed the earliest possible date for it. Again, the Ambassador having expressed the hope that Sunday would not be

¹ See Factory Records, Misc., Vol. 20.

appointed for the occasion, Monday was fixed as the day. This was considered a special mark of respect and honour as Monday was neither a *Durbar* day nor a day usually set apart for public functions (Sundays and Thursdays being the regular days for public audiences). Yet again, on alighting from his palanquin before entering the *Gonbardar* according to Court etiquette, permission was specially granted for him to ride on horseback to the apartment where Ruhullah Khan, Yarlebeg and other high officers of state awaited him. Yarlebeg then conducted him with some of his principal officers into an inner apartment—beyond the usual place of audience. The Emperor's son Sultan Cambuck was present, in addition to the chief ministers. Sir William was permitted to make his "addresses after the manner of my own country." After delivering King William's letter and before presenting the gold cabinet containing 201 gold *mohurs*, the Emperor commanded that a *Serpaw* should be brought for the Ambassador. With this he retired to another apartment to be invested. The Mogul had punctiliously insisted on seeing the *Serpaw* before it was presented to Sir William and "turn'd back three that were brought to him as not being fine enough; at last sent me one with which I was invested." In all the glory of the *Serpaw* he now returned to the presence of the Emperor and saluted him. The salute was acknowledged by Aurangzeb lifting his hands twice to his head. The Emperor then accepted the King's and Sir William's present and gave special instructions that King William's presents should be set apart for his own use. Aurangzeb shewed the utmost curiosity and "took Patterns himself of every different piece of cloth and Brocad and kept itt, had acct of all the Glass Ware sword blades ect lookt att them all and exprest his likeing to them." After inspecting the gold cabinet, he ordered it to be sent to his women that they might see the curiosity; the gold *mohurs* were sent to his Treasury. He particularly ordered a small pair of pocket

screw barrel pistols to be laid in his bedchamber. Sir William considered that it was a great honour and might be of great future advantage that the Mogul had taken so much notice of English manufactures. The great guns were to be viewed by the Emperor that morning and the remainder of the presents he ordered to be arranged in places where he might conveniently see them.

Sir William returned from the Court in the same order as he entered the Imperial *Leskar*, wearing the *Serpaw* over his dress and the "Turbatt" on his hat. There were crowds of people gazing at the procession and every one shewed respect to the Ambassador's robe of honour. The same morning came a sordid sequel to the earlier magnificence when the servants of the Imperial household came crowding into the Ambassador's camp asking for gratuities. Rustomji whose task it was to deal with them experienced the utmost difficulty in satisfying their demands.

This was the seamy side and caused the Ambassador once more to raise his call for pecuniary help. It was his opinion that if funds to an adequate extent had been more quickly forthcoming the negotiations of the Embassy would have been speedily brought to a happy conclusion. The miserable sum of Rs. 5,000 already mentioned, which had been accepted on credit, was no secret to those who were "Gapeing after great rewards." The reputation of the English was being lowered in the eyes of the ministers who were beginning to think that their demands could not be satisfied. The confidence which, according to his letter, Sir William placed in the assurance of the Council at Surat, had been sorely tried. So once more, with great clearness, he impressed on the Council the gravity of the situation, pointing out that their niggardliness and financial stringency were endangering not only his own prestige, but even the very hope of ultimate success.

(To be continued.)

HARIHAR DAS

THE FATHER OF INDIAN JOURNALISM—II

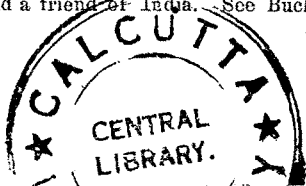
ROBERT KNIGHT—HIS LIFE-WORK.

In 1861 the American Civil War broke out between the Northern and Southern States, and in the following year, in consequence of the blockade of the Southern Ports, great suffering was caused in the north of England by the stoppage of the supplies of cotton from America. It was on American cotton that the cotton-mills of Lancashire had almost exclusively depended, and the small amount brought by the blockade-runners was far too little to meet their needs. Hence frantic attempts were made to get supplies from India, and every available pound of cotton—good, bad, and indifferent, was shipped to England. Bombay merchants in cotton as well as the cotton growers and middlemen in the Bombay districts, reaped a golden harvest by the enormous and unprecedented rise in prices. During the height of the war, and when cotton famine in Lancashire was at its most acute stage, cotton was selling at Liverpool at the high rate of Rs. 650 to 700 per candy of 784 lbs. the normal value of which before the War was only Rs. 150 per candy. The exports of cotton from Bombay to England rose up from 1,717,240 cwts. in 1859 to 4,911,843 cwts. in 1863-64. This immense increase of exportation drained the interior of the Bombay Presidency, and the small hand-loom manufactories which at that time were spread all over India, were almost stopped, as they could not be carried on at the enormous prices which the starving mill owners in Europe could offer for the raw material. Wild statements were made in the newspapers of England and generally credited, that vast quantities of cotton existed in the interior of India, and that nothing was wanted but railway communication to get supplies that would render

people of England independent of American cotton-supply. To investigate this question, Samuel Smith, then a young man and cotton-broker,¹ arrived in Bombay in January 1863, and wrote, at the desire of Knight, a series of letters to the *Times of India* describing what he saw of the cotton districts of India and his impressions of their capability. He concluded that there was no basis for the belief that large stocks of cotton existed in the interior of the country, and that there was little chance of India-cotton becoming a substitute for American as it was far inferior in staple, and could not be radically changed; yet that the high price would draw a greatly increased supply so long as it lasted, for there was literally a stream of gold pouring at that time into Western India. These letters were republished shortly after by Samuel Smith and Knight as a pamphlet in England and submitted to the committee of the Cotton Supply Association in Manchester, and exploded forever the idea that India could make England independent of her American cotton import.

While the plethora of English money, by way of profits literally beyond the dreams of avarice, was pouring into the Bombay Presidency, Lancashire mills were either stopped or kept going only for a few hours in the week. Thousands of English operatives were thrown out of work, and the cotton-famine caused as much misery as a bread famine would have done. The situation in England was, indeed, extremely grave. To relieve the distress of his countrymen at home, Knight instigated the Bombay Chamber of Commerce to open a public relief fund immediately, and his personal influence made the Bombay merchants who were reaping the harvest, to contribute to the fund most handsomely, Rustomji Jamsetji, son of the first Parshi baronet and philanthropist, Sir Jamsetji

¹ Well-known Parliamentarian and a friend of India. See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.



Jeejeebhoy, leading the contribution with the princely sum of 3 lakhs of rupees. Thus Knight was instrumental in sending home for the relief of the sufferers from cotton-famine, a considerable sum from Bombay. Simultaneously, he also moved to relieve the distress of those small hand-loom manufacturers of cotton of this country who could not carry on their business for the very high price of cotton. He writes:—

Soon after the outbreak of the American War, the high price of the staple placed it out of the reach of the weavers of the Madras Presidency, and the saddest tales were constantly reaching me of the dreadful distress they were suffering. As Madras made no adequate movement for the relief, I determined to see what could be done in Bombay. I went out one afternoon and collected before I returned to office no less than a sum of Rs. 85,000 (£ 8,500) from our great native Setts, and I remitted this money to Madras as the commencement of a relief fund for the weavers. The movement was of my own conception and execution from beginning to end.

The unprecedented prosperity of Bombay during this period led most unfortunately to the institution of all kinds of wild-cat financial and trading speculations, the shares in which no sooner they were allotted than they rose to a handsome premium. There was no limit to the number of mushroom concerns which were then being daily started. Speculation in all kinds of shares which rose to fabulous prices without rhyme or reason, became so rife that it recalled the history of the South Sea Bubble of a hundred years ago. While this share-mania was at its height, Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Bombay, finding that Bombay was flush with its suddenly acquired wealth, projected a new town in what might be called the *maidan* of Bombay city proper, and for this purpose set up all available land belonging to Government for public competition. He had an inordinate ambition of playing the *role* of Augustus who was said to have found Rome of bricks and left it of marble. Bombay people were then in the phrenzy of excitement, and took over the land in

parcels at fancy prices, the proceeds of which went into the coffers of the State. Knight tried as much as he could to minimise the incitement thus given by the Bombay Government of the day to the heads of the rich families of Bombay, for this land speculation, besides giving them distinct warnings against their ventures in cotton. He seriously predicted the collapse of the Bombay Share-mania when many Bombay financiers became stark lunatics over the huge profits of cotton caused by the American Civil War, but the credulous Bombay public paid no heed to his warnings, and eagerly pursued the financial will-o-the-wisps, for some time more.

In May 1864, Knight went home after sixteen years' absence therefrom, partly for his health and partly for the education of his growing family. As this departure coincided with the days of Bombay's temporary and extraordinary prosperity, when crores upon crores of rupees flowed into the city which thus held money very cheap indeed, his European and Indian friends gave him a most fitting farewell for his zealous services in their cause. They held a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay at Mazagaon Castle on the 10th March 1864 to express to Knight their appreciation of his conduct as a public journalist. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, second Baronet, presided on the occasion, and among the speakers at this meeting were the Hon'ble Juggonnath Sunkersett, Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., Dosabhai Framji Karaka, the Rev. Dr. John Wilson, Dr. Bhao Dajee, Sir Mangaldas Nathubhoy, Sir Raymond (then Mr.) West, and Sir George (then Mr.) Birdwood.

An influential committee was appointed with Dosabhoy Framji as secretary. A sum of Rs. 65,000 was subscribed upon the spot, and it rose to nearly a lakh of rupees at the time of the presentation of a purse to Knight.

Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, was one of the subscribers to the testimonial, and Sir Cowasjee Jehangir and the Hon. Rustomjee Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy subscribed Rs. 5000

each. The presentation of the address and purse took place at Mazagaon Castle on the 12th May, 1864, when Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy read the following address :—

You are aware, Mr. Knight, that a movement has for sometime been on foot for marking ere you departed from these shores, the deep and grateful sense felt by many of the members of every class of this great community, of the benefits conferred on us and on this country, by your conduct for several years past of the *Times of India*—by the soundness of the policy you introduced, and by the ability, zeal, intelligence, and unflagging energy with which you have carried it out. Various modes were suggested by which our object might be attained, but upon mature consideration, it appeared that the most substantial token of our appreciation, the least ostentatious as regards ourselves and the most effective as regards you, would be found in the presentation of the purse, of which in the name of the committee I now beg your acceptance. We do not affect to consider it an adequate reward for the labors you have undergone and the services you have performed. For these you must seek the appropriate meed where alone you will find it, in the approval of your conscience, and in the calm and happy retrospect of weighty duties worthily discharged. But you will not, we trust, on that account reject or undervalue this spontaneous expression of our regard, in the rude material form to which we are, in a manner, confined by the limitation of our resources, and the difficulty of discovering any other which would be at once effective and unobjectionable. The real worth of any testimonial consists after all, we think, much less in its intrinsic value than in the acts it commemorates and the sentiments it embodies. An offering on the altar of public worth and public duty is sanctified by its purpose whatever form it may assume, and regarding our tribute in this light you will, we feel assured, prize it for its object, for the spirit in which it is offered, for the evidence it affords that even in this remote part of Her Majesty's Dominions, devotion to the best interest of the Empire is not wholly unobserved or unappreciated. It is needless and would indeed be out of place for us to enter into any lengthened detail of the services which we are to-day attempting, however unworthily, to commemorate. The merest outline will sufficiently recall to our minds and convey to yours those general features of your career as a journalist which we think demand the emphatic stamp of public approbation. You assumed the control of the *Bombay Times* at a period when, in the opinion of many, the British Empire in India seemed threatened with possible and early ruin.

It was a time of panic for some, of general distrust, of universal grief, of widespread and bitter exasperation.

Looking back now to those days of trial, we cannot perhaps wonder that the hour of terror, or of indignant passion, was not the hour of patient and cool discrimination; but we must all the more deeply appreciate the calm magnanimity of the minority, who, dismayed by the surrounding storm, preserved a balanced judgment and a feeling heart amid the most terrible crisis of modern history. "Clemency,"¹ that

¹ The Duke of Argyll, who used to answer for the Indian Department of the British Cabinet in the House of Lords wrote in the *Memoirs* thus in 1857:—"All was going smoothly for Palmerston in Parliament, and there were no manifest rocks ahead, when suddenly, as a clap of thunder out of the blue, came, one fine morning in June, the news of the mutiny of Bengal regiments at Meerut, of the massacre of the officers, and of the escape of the mutinous throng up the Ganges to Delhi.

One result of my close reading of all the facts was an early and firm conviction that we had to deal, not with a popular insurrection, but with a military mutiny, and with that alone. But there was another conviction forced upon my mind—namely, this: that the Mutiny was due to a genuine religious panic, communicating itself from mind to mind under the uncontrollable impulses of superstitious fears. It was not in its origin any political conspiracy, although, of course, it set up conspiracies without number, racial, political, and religious. But many of the phenomena were not only curious, but mysterious. Regiments, after having stood firm for weeks, suddenly joined the mutineers, just at a moment when their success was impossible, and when they were sure to be disarmed or shot. There was no reason in their action, no opportuneness in their conduct. They seemed to go suddenly mad, like shying horses or stampeded mules. The savage slaughter of the officers came at the end of years of sympathy and affection. It was as if some evil spirit were let loose, which, at the most unexpected moments, lighted upon and took possession of the Sepoy corps, converting them into demons of treachery and destruction. And yet, in the middle of the raging storm, in the spirits of men there were abundant examples of the most splendid fidelity and courage.

Following all these facts, as I did in the minutest detail, I saw the folly and the danger of the furious cry for vengeance which arose in England, and of the reckless blame cast on Lord Canning, embodied in the name given to him in the press of 'Clemency Canning.' I saw that whilst punishment of mutineers ought to be swift, if possible, it ought above all things to be discriminate. I therefore took an active part in defending Canning against the attacks made upon him in the House of Lords, and I was gratified, at a later date, by hearing from Canning himself that he had been struck by the accurate knowledge of the detailed facts of the case I had shown in my replies."

John Bruce Norton as a journalist and for sometime editor of the *Madras Atheneum* especially during the great Rebellion in 1857, pleaded the cause of mercy to the Natives, when many of his countrymen were urging on not merely a just retribution but an unsparing revenge. Norton and his collaborateur and friend, Francis Green, severed their connection with the Madras journal when its proprietors asked them to pursue a different policy. They then jointly established the *Indian Statesman* newspaper at Madras, well-known for its breadth, freedom of discussion and pro-Native principles,

word hurled in the whirlwind of invective at Lord Canning as the most cutting epithet of scorn and reproach, has since become recognised as his noblest title to immortality. In the policy which that great ruler had the wisdom to conceive and the courage to pursue, he was anticipated by you, and working as you did with powerful and unwearied pen upon the public opinion of your countrymen, you must share with Lord Canning the grateful acknowledgment of those natives of India, who in the hour of depression and despair, as in the hour of triumph of the British Arms, have ever been loyal subjects of a beloved and honored Sovereign. You must share with him in the gratitude of all Englishmen, alive to the true dignity of their part in history, conscious that it is a nobler function to create and to preserve than to destroy, and who would keep the glorious annals of their country free from the stain of one record of power abused, of passionate injustice, or of one drop of innocent blood shed. But when this contest of judgment and mercy against indiscriminating and capricious vengeance had been fought—nay, while the conflict was still to be fought and won—you had devised that theory of journalism which, carried out with your characteristic vigour, may fairly be reckoned as an era in the history of the Indian Press. You saw that the newspapers of the day were too narrow, not only in their sympathies and in their grasp of principles, but also in their means of information, in the varieties of thought and experience which they expressed for the great and growing wants of a wealthy, enterprising, and progressive community. We wanted broad views of general politics—we wanted an effective treatment of special subjects. These wants you contrived to supply in the most effectual way. You devised means whereby information was gained

In a note Knight writes :—I was in India when the mutiny broke out, and vividly remember the shock which it occasioned our national complacency. For the first few months, the popular account of it was—that we had been living in the midst of a race of tigers thirsting for our blood; and not suspecting their nature, had conferred upon them a rule far too paternal and gentle for their character. We could illustrate this statement by quotations from the periodical literature of the time, that would painfully surprise the reader. Our rule had been too good for the natives; henceforth we were to rule them with a rod of iron. A little later, the belief was inculcated that our sufferings were but a Divine chastisement for our cowardly failure to confess our Christianity more openly before the people, and the Government was commanded to assert its faith, let it offend whom it might. There never was a time in our history when the Government was so earnest in its profession of faith. Our profession of religion was exceedingly loud at the time, while our practice was upon a level with that of the man who talks religion to his customers over his counter, while serving them with sanded sugar and weighing it in balances of deceit.

from every quarter of India. You enlisted able pens. You presented us almost for the first time with an adequate and exhaustive discussion of topics, lying beyond the limited range of the life and experience of residents in the Presidency towns. You thus raised the organ you conducted to a position of influence analogous to that of the great journals of Europe. You excited a wholesome rivalry amongst your brother journalists. You introduced a policy of wholesome liberality. It is not too much to say that it is in a great measure owing to your example and your exertions, that the Press of India now rests on a broad basis of enlightenment and ability which makes it worthy of the great interests with which it has to deal. But this result was brought about not only, nor even mainly, by your mere exertions, or by that practical skill which is essential to the success of all novel enterprises. No,—allowing those accomplishments their full merit, it was by the attracting influence of an honest, lofty and generous policy that you contrived to draw around you that phalanx of able and thoroughly informed writers, who made the *Times of India* arbiter in nearly all the great questions of public policy that have been controverted for some years past. That love of justice, that firm reliance on the strength of right, which had prompted your merciful counsels during the mutiny has never ceased to animate your public writings. Respecting man as man, dwelling more on the infinite points of resemblance than the minute and superficial points of difference between the members of various races and the votaries of various creeds, recognizing in all alike a capacity for virtue, for moral and intellectual expansion, which no thought can measure, you have consistently claimed for the natives of India an honest and rational appreciation, equitable treatment from Government for the benefit of the governed, free room for growth of that generous confidence which makes loyalty an impulse of love rather than the cold dictate of duty, and encouragement in every healthy development. In addressing the native community themselves you have sought to promote that development, not by flattering their prejudices, but by reminding them of their duties, by fostering the nascent public spirit, by constantly setting before them their great responsibility, as well as by awakening them by stirring anticipations to the possibility and prospect of a great and brilliant future for their country. The radical unity of the Indo-European races has of late become a fashionable doctrine, but honour is due to those alone who recognized it betimes, or who, indifferent to any such unity, have ever been content to rest their teachings and their policy on that deeper unity of a

moral and intellectual nature everywhere and under every complexion the same. I will not proceed further in the enumeration of the particulars which, as the distinguishing characteristics of the *Times of India* under your control, appear to us to entitle you to peculiar esteem and a peculiar distinction. It may be that on some points you have not escaped man's inheritance of error. There are, perhaps, but few of us who have not disagreed more than once with some one or other of the doctrines you have advocated, amongst the endless series of subjects that have engaged your pen during several years of revolution. Differing thus from you on some isolated points, we can still recognize the truth, that honest and able men may on some subjects take the most opposite views; and honour him who supports his own with ability, sense, and moderation. Thinking thus, we cannot allow our occasional divergence of opinion to lessen our individual and collective appreciation of your merits. May all who assume the same duties, perform them with the same rectitude, as wisely and as well. It is not necessary to enter into any details, and it now only remains that we bid you hearty farewell. You take with you to your native country the respect and affection with which the people of India seldom fail to regard those who have worked earnestly in their behalf. Followed by these feelings, you will recollect that India still has on you the claims of friendship. It is not in India alone that her position, her people and the measures and objects of her rulers, are misrepresented. Amongst your unbiassed countrymen at home, you may still render us good service, still plead the cause of the weak, still advocate a great and worthy policy, still with the magic touch of Knowledge and Truth, cause the fantastic structures of falsehood and ill-will to crumble into dust. Nay, the occasion may again arise, as it has arisen already, when your presence may be necessary to stem the torrent of prejudice, and to counsel magnanimity and imperturbable injustice. In such an exigency we feel that we should not call in vain for help. Meanwhile, we will but express our hope that the *Times of India* may remain faithful to the principles of which you made it the exponent, and that your example may raise up a succession of public writers as well disposed if not so well able to promote the highest interests of India, and to make its Government an imperishable honour to the nation to which Providence has assigned its rule.

Knight in receiving the cheque which was handed to him by Sir Jamsetjee made an appropriate reply. Sir

Raymond West, in addressing the meeting, said among other things:—

He yields to none in his appreciation of the generally high and liberal tone of the policy which Mr. Knight had consistently advocated and of the ability, conscientiousness, and courage with which his views were worked out. They had been informed how Mr. Knight had introduced a new system of journalism into India a system which, by bringing the scattered rays of knowledge and speculation to a focus, had made the newspaper, for the first time, almost in this country a true and vigorous exponent of the wants and wishes of the community. That was a difficult task, but almost more difficult was the ceaseless effort of judgment and discrimination which it must have imposed on the editor. On the members of several sections of society, Mr. Knight had peculiar claims; but he had a still higher claim on them as citizens for his faithful and untiring exertions in behalf of all that promised to carry the Government of the community one stage further in enlightenment and civilisation. On the members of the native community, Mr. Knight had claims which had been sufficiently urged and which, indeed, no one denied; but something was due also from the European community, who, having taken up their abode in India, were bound, by a thousand links, to the field of their labours and the home of their adoption. He but expressed the general sense of the assembly, he thought, when he congratulated their chairman on his having presided on an occasion, fertile, as he trusted it might be, in great and beneficial results.

On the same day an address was presented to Knight by the Editors of the Vernacular Press, Guzeratee and Marathi, as well as the editors of the monthly magazines published at Bombay. The address acknowledged that Knight having the most influential organ at his command had applied it with equal vigour and prudence at one time to slay the cruelty of land-resumption proceedings; at another time to vindicate the cause of the indigo cultivators; at a third to suggest some of the best modes of replenishing the exhausted public coffers and of mitigating as far as practicable the evils of taxation; at a fourth time to develop the natural resources of the land, and forward the institutions and improvements

which characterized this side of India; and at a fifth time to suppress with its loud and reasonable voice such invidious measures as the Press Gagging Act, and to allow not a single opportunity to go unimproved in affording encouragement to the Vernacular Press. In short he had by such conduct shown to all what the Press, no matter whether English or Vernacular, if well directed and actuated by honest motives, could do to secure the greatest happiness of the largest portion of mankind. Knight made a suitable reply to this second address also.

In addition to the above purse of nearly a lakh of rupees from the Bombay citizens, the merchant millionaire of Bombay, Karsandas Madhudas, privately gave to Knight a "very big sum" in recognition of the valuable services he had rendered to the cause of the country. Knight acknowledged Karsandas's munificence in the following letter:

THE TIMES OF INDIA,
Bombay, 2nd April, 1864.

MY DEAR KARSANDAS,

Your munificence really distresses me. I do not know what I have done to deserve such returns. I have simply striven to be just, and you pay me for it thus.

However, I accept your singular mark of regard with the condition attached to it. I shall hand it over to my wife and children, and I must take care to introduce them to you before we leave.

I shall send the cheque for Rs. 15,000 to the bank as you direct. I hope to return to India next year or the year after, but whether I do or not, I shall remember the singular friendship you have evinced for

Yours very sincerely,
R. KNIGHT

Before going home Knight invested a large portion of the money received from Bombay in the purchase of a coffee plantation in the Wynud district of the Madras Presidency. He stayed there for sometime to see the plantation well started and established under the management of his partner

and friend H. E. James. Before leaving Bombay he made temporary arrangement for the editorial conduct of the *Times of India* with the Rev. Francis Gell,¹ then acting Chaplain at Kirkee. Gell was a frequent contributor to the *Times of India*, and as he took three years' furlough from the 13th February, 1864, Knight was glad to avail of his services as acting editor of the *Times of India* during his absence from Bombay. Gell was a prolific writer and was a follower of the policy pursued by Knight in his editorial management of the *Times of India*. In February, 1864, he became joint-editor, and in the following May on Knight's departure from Bombay, became the acting editor of the *Times of India*. The editorial engagement of Gell immediately after his taking furlough, was objected to by the Lord Bishop of Bombay. On 23rd February, 1864, the Lord Bishop wrote to Gell as follows:—

For some short time past a rumour has been prevalent in Bombay that you have engaged yourself in an editorial capacity to the *Times of India* daily Newspaper.

I am free to own that when that rumour first reached me I regarded it as simply incredible. It received confirmation however from so many sources that I was led to fear it might be too true, when your letter of the 19th instant dated from No. 2 Church Gate Street, the office of the Newspaper above mentioned, came to hand, enclosing for my consideration the copy of another letter, dated from the same place, and addressed by you to one of your fellow-chaplains * * * *. These communications you forwarded under your frank as on Her Majesty's Service only, and I do not hesitate to allude to them, therefore, in this official document, as leaving no room for any moral doubt in my mind that you have placed yourself in the position above alluded to.

¹ Before taking furlough the Revd. Francis Gell refused to recognise the authority of the Bishop of Bombay to interfere with certain arrangements made by him in the Church at Kirkee and assumed a position of persistent non-compliance with the directions of his Ordinary. The Bishop considered the line which the Rev. Gell took to be subversive of all subordination and complained to Government of his assumption of independence of episcopal control. The Bishop's complaint on Gell's editorial engagement with the *Times of India* was a sequence of this friction.

I shall be wanting in my duty to the Church and to you if I hesitate to say with what pain I contemplate you in the situation which I now must conclude that you have taken.

The secularity of mind to which you will be liable, and the way in which you can scarcely fail to become implicated in local politics, and, as is too likely, in personal disputes, to say nothing of higher considerations, fill me with the gravest apprehensions for your future character and influence as a clergyman in this diocese. I entreat you to reconsider the matter, and to retire from the post in question, if indeed you have assumed it.

I am not at present aware that I have any power to do more than expostulate with you. It would not, however, be candid in me to conceal from you my intention, should you really have made this engagement, and adhere to it, to express my views to the Bombay Government, and so to quit myself of all responsibility for a transaction which I can only regard as a calamity to the cause of Religion in this place.

On the 26th February, 1864, Gell wrote to the Lord Bishop from 2, Church Gate Street, the office of the *Times of India* :—

I have received your letter ; but before answering it in full, would seek an explanation of one most important phrase.

Your Lordship has said that there are reasons why you disapprove of a course, which rumour has attributed to me, on several grounds ; and added, "not to speak of higher considerations." This seems to me, my Lord, the most important matter—the higher considerations. I should therefore feel obliged if Your Lordship would confide to me in full, what these higher considerations are.

On the 27th February, 1864, the Lord Bishop replied as follows :—

In my letter to you of the 23rd instant I considered that I suggested to you very sufficient reasons why, as a Minister of the Church, you should not occupy the situation which I had cause to fear that you had undertaken. Other and higher considerations were present to my mind, but, as they could not be explained without entering upon ground of the deepest sacredness, I preferred not to introduce them into an official document. As, however, by your letter of yesterday, you desire to know what these higher considerations may be, I will state them ;

When you were admitted to the holy office of Priesthood, you were charged, as you stood before God and the Congregation, to consider how you ought to forsake and set aside, as much as you may, all worldly cares and studies; determining, by God's grace, to give yourself wholly to this one thing, and drawing all your cares and studies this way. And then, in order that you might be the more moved to do your duty, you were asked, among other questions: "will you be diligent in prayers, and in reading of the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world, and of the flesh?" To which your answer was, "I will endeavour myself so to do, the Lord being my helper."

I am sensible that in matters of Conscience it is not for one to judge another by his own rule. But cases, nevertheless, will arise in which it is impossible to avoid the misgiving that a serious error of judgment has been committed. And I must confess that when one who has vowed to lay aside the study of the world, to give himself wholly to his ministry, and to draw all his cares to that one thing, consents to devote his energies day by day to the service of a secular Newspaper, I am unable to reconcile his conduct and his obligations. .

I cannot but hope that on mature reflection you will at least so far doubt the consistency of such a position as to relinquish it forthwith, if indeed you have allowed yourself to take it.

On the 25th March, 1864, Gell sent his famous reply to the Lord Bishop of Bombay from Bandora :—

I might perhaps be justified in declining to enter into an official correspondence with your Lordship on a matter of such purely private concern as the manner in which I think it right to employ a part of my furlough, after eight years of unremunerative labour in this diocese; but lest your Lordship should suppose that I shrink from doing so, because I have nothing to say in defence of the position which I have taken as one of the editors of the *Times of India*, in deprecation of the reprobation expressed in your Lordship's letter, I address myself reluctantly to the task of reply.

In considering what are the grounds on which your Lordship has come forward to expostulate with me, and even to threaten me, on this subject, I find that your Lordship may have either spoken officially, as representing in certain matters to me as an officer of Government;—or ecclesiastically, as exercising "episcopal jurisdiction" over the licensed clergy of the diocese;—or lastly, spiritually, as a "Father in God," and

spiritual adviser of all members of the Church of England, lay or clerical, in this diocese.

The first ground I may dismiss, because my official position as an officer of Government concerns Government solely; and your Lordship has not led me to suppose that Government has authorised you to address me with threats or expostulations on their behalf. Nor indeed can I expect that they will do so when I recall the circumstances of the appointment of Mr. G. P. Badger, and when I see two of the weekly papers—*Bombay Saturday Review*¹ and *Catholic Examiner*—of Bombay edited by officers of Government on full pay, one of them a chaplain in the receipt of full allowances.

On the second ground I may observe that if the “episcopal jurisdiction” exercised by a Bishop of the Church of England over the licensed clergy of his diocese, consists, not in making fresh laws for them, but in administering those which already exist, then I may, without disrespect, ask on what existing law your Lordship has instantly condemned the course I have deliberately taken. But if your Lordship’s peculiar interpretation of the terms of the ordination service, as forbidding my engaging myself in such a capacity as Editor, be an authoritative exercise of such ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it is, at least, open to appeal; nor can I doubt that a judgment would be reversed which condemns as those whose conduct is inconsistent with their obligations all the scholastic clergy, whose energies are devoted day by day to teaching boys, as mine will be to teaching men; all the literary clergy, many of whom are dignitaries of the Church, and hold stalls and deaneries etc., given by the highest ecclesiastical and civil authorities, in order to enable them, without the labours of a pastoral cure, to pursue various branches of secular learning, including in this number the numerous fellows of Colleges in Holy Orders, and especially all the clergy connected with the Press at home, a larger body of men than perhaps Your Lordship is aware of, and containing not a few who are eminent both for piety and ability.

Your Lordship has told me that you think my conduct in taking an editorship inconsistent with my obligations. These are hard words. But I beg most respectfully to point out that these very vows and obligations are still binding on Your Lordship; and yet they do not prevent you, and

¹ This journal was edited in 1864-65 by Professor John Powell Hughlings of the Bombay Education Department and then by Sir George Birdwood of the Bombay Medical Establishment, and although it was strongly anti-governmental paper, no one ever objected to the editorship.

ought not to prevent you from holding a post which demands, as Your Lordship has more than once complained to me, a painfully large portion of your time in trifling secular correspondence, such as entertaining claims for leave, moving chaplains from station to station, examining architectural and other plans, and a variety of labours, including those demanded by social conventionalisms, which, however important, were as little contemplated (or as much) by the framers of our Ordination Service as the labour of influencing the public mind by writing articles for a daily paper. Your Lordship has however admitted that there is at present no power to compel me to obedience, or to force me to abandon this means of honest livelihood ; so I may consider that this second ground is in fact felt to be untenable.

The third ground on which Your Lordship may have addressed me is that on which you stand as the spiritual adviser of all, and especially of the clergy, in matters to which the law does not reach, but which bear chiefly upon the conscience.

Spiritual counsel and advice, specially when it concerns what Your Lordship justly calls matters of the deepest sacredness, comes but coldly, my Lord, through the medium of the official forms of a secular Government, and written in the hand-writing of a Government office clerk. If indeed I have gone astray, unwisely though not illegally, through serious error in judgment, as Your Lordship supposes, surely such a case demanded other treatment than that of a formal letter in the tone and terms of a military Orderly room.

I might have supposed that I had some claim to very different treatment from Your Lordship at any rate. After eight years of labour in this diocese, most of it immediately under Your Lordship's eye, during which time my work has been twice singled out for favourable notice in episcopal charges, once in the primary charge of the Metropolitan, once in Your Lordship's last charge;—after having taken the lead, as no one knows better than Your Lordship, in an important movement among the soldiers of our Indian Armies, by establishing and successfully conducting the first paying "Institute," or Soldiers' Club in India, while Sir H. Rose was General of the Poona Division, on the model of which all subsequent institutions of the kind have been formed, and are now spread through the whole of India, though their originator is forgotten ;—after having built, almost with my own hands, the first Soldiers' Chapel for the Church of England in this Presidency at Gorporrie, and shown its use in the lines of a Regiment, introducing at the same time Scripture Readers into the Bombay Army ;—after having set on foot or designed not less than

five new Churches now in process of erection in this diocese, and this in addition to the labours of the largest Military Station in this Army performed in no perfunctory spirit, as Your Lordship knows, I might have looked for somewhat different treatment from the chief representative of the Church of England in this diocese than that which Your Lordship has thought consistent with your dignity. But with St. Paul I must say, "I have become a fool in boasting, ye have compelled me"—so I will pass from the manner to the matter of Your Lordship's communication.

The various heads of objection seem on examination to resolve themselves into the first of them, liability to secularity of mind. But, my Lord, who is not liable to it? Superintending the construction of Churches, and delivering secular lectures, in both of which occupations I have been encouraged by Your Lordship, are fully as secular, if not so widely useful, as writing for a newspaper. No man now-a-days makes any question that the Press is the great Agent for influencing opinion; and if it should be brought, as it would be brought were Your Lordship's restrictions enforced, into a position of permanent alienation from the Church, it must be to the serious detriment of both, but even to the great cause of Truth itself.

Your Lordship thinks my accepting an engagement as an editor of the leading organ of public opinion in this country as an error in judgment; not because I am unlikely to be able to guide it aright (here I should have agreed with you) but because the Press is in itself so inevitably degrading that a religious man, or a minister of religion may be injured by it, but can not improve it. This is surely implied in the fact that Your Lordship does not tell me that I am not strong enough, or wise enough, or skilful enough to wield so sharp a weapon (here I should have sympathized most fully in Your Lordship's fears) but that the weapon itself is not one which any Christian minister can wield without the very act of his doing so being "a calamity to the cause of Religion in the place." Here I must join issue with Your Lordship; for I think it will only be a calamity when the Church finds no one within her bosom to whom can be entrusted the duty of using in God's service by far the most powerful instrument of influence of the times in which we live; and though I may have many a misgiving as to whether I can do all that ought to be done in making this instrument subservient to the highest of all purposes, I have none whatever that it is my bounden duty, under the circumstances, by God's help to try.

The Church in this diocese, my Lord, has not so firm a hold upon the public mind, or the public respect, that she can well afford contemptuously

to let the most powerful of all agencies fall into the hands of her enemies. Your Lordship may think that all is well, that the clergy are as contented and as highly respected as they should be, and the congregations as loyal and affectionate. With pain I must tell Your Lordship that I know better; and I speak the thought of many minds when I say that the Church of England, alas, has not that weight in this Presidency which she ought to have; and I would fain hope that instead of it being a calamity to the cause of Religion that I am where I am, it may, on the contrary, help to avert, or at least diminish, the evil effect of calamities, which some think are even now impending over us.

The Lord Bishop of Bombay then addressed the Government of Bombay the following two letters on the 29th March 1864, and 9th May, 1864, respectively:—

I have the honour to submit for the information of your Excellency in Council the substance of communications made by me to the Reverend F. Gell, in reference to a rumour of his having engaged himself in an editorial capacity to the *Times of India* newspaper.

The rumour became prevalent more than a month ago; and from a letter which I then wrote to Mr. Gell I extract the following:—

“I shall be wanting in my duty to the Church, and to you, if I hesitate to say with what pain I contemplate you in the situation which I now must conclude that you have taken. The secularity of mind to which you will be liable, the way in which you can scarcely fail to become implicated in local politics, and, as is too likely, in personal disputes, to say nothing of higher considerations, fill me with the gravest apprehensions for your future character and influence as a Clergyman in this diocese. I entreat you to reconsider the matter, and to retire from the post in question, if indeed you have assumed it.”

To this Mr. Gell replied by inquiring what the “higher considerations” were to which I had adverted; and I explained myself as follows:—

“When you were admitted to the holy office of Priesthood, you were charged, as you stood before God and the Congregation, to consider how you ought to forsake and set aside, as much as you may, all worldly cares and studies; determining by God’s grace to give yourself wholly to the office whereunto it had pleased God to call you; applying yourself wholly to this one thing, and drawing all your cares and studies this way.

And then, in order that you might be the more moved to do your duty, you were asked, among other Questions—Will you be diligent in prayers, and in reading of the scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world, and of the flesh? To which your answer was, I will endeavour myself so to do, the Lord being my helper.”

“I am sensible that in matters of conscience it is not for one to judge another by his own rule. But cases nevertheless will arise in which it is impossible to avoid the misgiving that a serious error of judgment has been committed. And I must confess that when one who has vowed to lay aside the study of the world, to give himself wholly to his ministry, and to draw all his cares to that one thing, consents to devote his energies day by day to the service of a secular newspaper, I am unable to reconcile his conduct and his obligations.”

This second communication was under date of February 27; but I have only this day received from Mr. Gell his admission of the truth of the rumour which led me to address him. Nothing which he has urged in justification of the step which he has taken at all changes my convictions; and I consider it therefore to be my duty to state to your Excellency in Council, in the same terms which I have used to Mr. Gell, my strong sense of the impropriety of a clergyman placing himself in the situation in question. Mr. Gell has been aware from the first that in the event of his retaining it, I should take this course.

How far such use of a furlough is consistent with its intention, and whether a servant of Government should hold a position, the occupant of which is accustomed freely and publicly to canvass Government measures, are questions which it is not perhaps my province to discuss. It rests with Government, as the late Honorable Court of Directors wrote to the Governor-General in Council, under date of May 11th, 1853, to determine whether any engagements which its officers may form in connection with the Press are consistent with their primary duties to Government, and are free from the objection of affording an inconvenient precedent for other cases.

I am not aware that, after laying this letter before your Excellency, any further responsibility in the matter will attach to me; but I have ventured thus far not only from a conviction of my present duty to the Church in this Presidency, but also because I could not be satisfied to let it be said, at any future day, that a Clergyman of this diocese had lent himself to such an occupation, and that the Bishop had tacitly consented.

A painful sense of duty constrains me to address your Excellency again on the subject of my letter No. 30, dated the 28th of March last—the connexion of the Reverend F. Gell with the *Times of India* Newspaper.

I do not purpose to repeat the views which I then expressed. My present object is to solicit the attention of your Excellency in Council to facts which have since transpired, and by which those views have unhappily been more than confirmed.

The first of these facts is the character of certain articles in the newspaper abovenamed, of which it is notorious that Mr. Gell is the writer. To say that they are rude and coarse, and such therefore as reflect upon the author of them in a way most discreditable to himself as a clergyman, and to the service of which he is a member, is to allege the least offence, although an offence which, when exemplified as it is in the opening paragraph of the leading article of Monday, May 2nd, amounts to something not far short of immoral trifling. At all events, for a clergyman to pen such matter revolts the moral sense of every reader. In the same article, however, towards the close, will be found a levity in respect of things most sacred, such as really borders on the profane; the words "uncovenanted mercies," placed as they are in inverted commas, suggesting to every one acquainted with their literary and theological use nothing less than a pun upon terms expressive of the deepest mysteries of the Divine dispensations. I will advert to but one other instance of the style in which the writer shews himself too capable of indulging. It appears at the foot of the first column of an editorial in the issue of Thursday, May 5th, and exhibits an indelicacy which no Christian gentleman would willingly allow to meet the eyes of the ladies of his family. I need not quote further. Your Excellency will feel, I am sure, sufficiently distressed with these samples of what may be too likely to occur from a quarter which has already produced such compositions.

As a natural consequence of this, other papers, writing in opposition to these articles, do not fail to make free allusion to the clerical profession of their author, mentioning him by name, and bringing the sacred calling of a minister of the Church into contempt before the community both Native and European.

And, as a further consequence, the last few days have brought to my knowledge the existence of a rising sense of indignant vexation on the part not of the clergy only, but of the laity also, especially the members of the Church of which Mr. Gell is a minister, that it should be in his power to disgrace in this way the communion to which they belong.

It is upon these grounds that I now appeal to Your Excellency Council, and intreat Government to take such steps as will put an end to this most sad and grievous scandal. With the secular policy of Government in respect of the Press I have no right or wish to interfere. But the interests of Religion, and as charged with the supervision of the Ecclesiastical Service, I must not be silent while the deplorable exhibition of clerical inconsistency in a servant of Government continues.

On receipt of the above communications from the Lord Bishop of Bombay, Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Bombay, wrote as follows on the 9th May, 1864:—

I do not think that while Mr. Gell is on furlough we can take cognizance of the way in which he employs his time, unless his employment shewn to be such as unfits him for returning to the discharge of his ordinary duties under Government, when he returns from furlough.

But the case is, as far as I know, a new one, and the principles involved may, and probably will, hereafter, have a wider application than in this instance; I would propose, therefore, to ask the Secretary of State to inform us how far we are required to take cognizance of the mode in which Government servants on leave of absence or furlough employ the time, and whether we are to apply to them the same restrictions as are applicable while they are on duty or active service?

Sir William Mansfield, then a member of the Bombay Council wrote as follows on the 10th May, 1864:—

I certainly think that a reference to the Secretary of State is necessary on the question raised by the Bishop.

I believe myself that no servant of an Indian Government, be he Lay or Clerical, should be permitted to occupy a position which from the nature of things makes him the daily public acknowledged critic, whether friend or hostile, of the Government he serves.

I think a servant of Government should be required to "cleave to it" and that he should not try to serve at the same time the Mammon of the Daily Newspaper.

Such is the figure which if any one but the Reverend Mr. Gell were concerned, I have no doubt he would use to characterize the gross impropriety and incompatibility of the position he has most unhappily chosen to assume, the step taken by him being alike unfortunate for himself and for the interests of the Church.

As a Covenanted servant of Government he appears to me to be under the same rule as a Military officer in the matter concerned. The latter would, it is presumed, be at once forbidden to assume the office of Editor of an Indian Newspaper, so long as he remained on the full pay of the service. He would be told to make his election between Her Majesty's Service and the Newspaper employment. It must be recollected that this in no manner interferes with the liberty of the Press, but merely enforces a common rule of administration that so long as a man is the paid servant of the State, he cannot be permitted, without special sanction, to be the ostensible Agent of a Private employer. I therefore trust that this matter may be resolved on such principles.

The Hon'ble W. E. Frere, another member of the Bombay Council, wrote as follows on the 16th May, 1864:—

As the question must be referred to the Secretary of State it is hardly necessary that I should record any opinion on the subject. The removal some short time ago of an officer from the Army for disgraceful conduct while on furlough in Syria proves that officers while on furlough are still responsible to the Government for their good conduct.

The present case is one of more difficulty. It depends entirely upon the broad question whether the Editorship of a Newspaper is compatible with the duties of a Clegyman or not, it must not be narrowed to the Editorship of a respectable paper or a paper in which articles of a doubtful character appear, for we cannot ascertain who is responsible for any particular leading article in any Newspaper and the prohibition, if prohibition there be, must extend to the Editorship of all not purely religious papers.

On the 16th May, 1864, the Hon'ble J. D. Inverarity, another member of the Bombay Council, wrote thus:—

I concur in the minute recorded by His Excellency the President, and think that in transmitting to the Secretary of State this correspondence from the Bishop, we should transmit at the same time Mr. Gell's replies in extenso. I would therefore request the Bishop to favour us with copies of all letters which he may have received on this subject from Mr. Gell, whose explanations should, in justice to himself, be forwarded to the Secretary of State with these papers.

Sir Bartle Frere again wrote on the 23rd May, 1864 :—

I think the reference proposed by Mr. Inverarity should be made to the Bishop. As far as His Lordship's letters enable us to judge, Mr. Gell has confined his replies to the Ecclesiastical aspect of the question. It would be well to let him state any arguments he may have to urge on the purely secular point of how far Government is entitled to enquire how their servants, while on furlough, spend their time.

We must, I think, carefully keep these two questions distinct. The Ecclesiastical question is an intricate one which there are other and more competent tribunals to decide. The secular question is comparatively simple, but it must be decided on a principle, applicable to all lawful and respectable employments, and not on this particular instance. For, if we prohibit a Chaplain on furlough from writing for the *Bombay Times*, shall we extend the prohibition to writing for the *London Record*? or for "Good Words"? If not, where and how can we draw a line? Almost every Chaplain on furlough seeks clerical duty, out of the Government service, so that we can hardly draw a line by saying he shall seek no other service than that of Government.

We can say we will keep up the same supervision over a man on furlough as while on active service; but this may lead to consequences as inconvenient as leaving a man alone to employ his furlough as he pleases as long as he abstains from what is a public scandal in the case of any Government servant (as was the apostacy of the unhappy officer referred to by Mr. Frere). This seems to me on the whole the only safe rule.

I note this lest we should be drawn further than we intend, and much regretting for his own sake and for that of the service that the question should have been thus raised by so excellent a Chaplain as Mr. Gell has proved himself.

The above note was concurred in by the Hon'ble J. D. Inverarity. On the 25th May, 1864 Sir William Mansfield again wrote :—

It seems to me that the secular part of the question turns on the point of any officer clerical or lay taking other than the State employment, *without sanction* when he is on furlough.

If such a course is open, under the present regulations, the occasion under reference seems a fitting one to obtain a rule rendering such sanction imperative in future.

This would provide for such employment as that alluded to by His Excellency the President, such for instance as an acting Curacy for a Chaplain on leave, and perhaps even the Editorship of a "Serious" Newspaper. The writing of casual articles, which is always anonymous, *vide* example quoted by His Excellency the President does not, I think, come within the scope of the argument. This, Mr. Gell has probably done during the whole time he has been on the establishment. But it is being the avowed responsible paid servant of the *Bombay Times* which puts him from the nature of things in avowed antagonism to the Government paying him to which we have a right to object. I do not think it possible to sustain such a position. I look at the question purely as one of administration and put the Ecclesiastic features out of Court. I concur in Mr. Inverarity's suggestion.

On the 20th June, 1864 the Government of Bombay in the Ecclesiastical Department wrote to the Lord Bishop as follows :—

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letters, No. 30 of 29th March and No. 33 of 9th May, on the connection of the Reverend F. Gell with the *Times of India* Newspaper.

His Excellency in Council observes that the case offers two distinct questions :—

1st—the propriety of a clergyman occupying the position of Editor of a Newspaper.

2ndly—the degree of restriction which the Government would reasonably and wisely place upon the occupations of its officers during furlough, with particular application of the principle of such restriction, to the Editorship of an Indian Newspaper.

Your Lordship's letters mainly regard the first or ecclesiastical question, an intricate one, which it is possible may come before other Tribunals more competent to deal with it than a secular Government.

But there is also the second question as above stated, which is mainly secular and with which His Excellency in Council feels bound to deal ; and he proposes to address the Secretary of State accordingly.

But as your Lordship's letters will be submitted to the Secretary of State, His Excellency thinks it right that the Reverend Mr. Gell's letters should also be submitted in full, and that he should have the opportunity of stating any argument he may wish to urge on the secular view of the matter.

His Excellency in Council will therefore await a further communication from your Lordship before addressing the Secretary of State.

On the 5th July, 1864 the Lord Bishop replied to the Bombay Government as follows:—

I have the honour to furnish to your Excellency in Council a copy of the correspondence which has passed between myself and the Reverend F. Gell, as requested by letter of Secretary Colonel Marriott, No. 73 dated June 20th, in reference to Mr. Gell's engagement with the *Times of India* Newspaper.

I should remark that in the copy of my first letter to Mr. Gell I have caused a few words to be omitted, on account of their allusion to an unhappy state of things between him and a fellow Chaplain not at all relevant to the object for which your Excellency calls for the correspondence.

I regret that your Excellency's Government has found itself unable, by any immediate action, to put an end to the scandal of which I complained in my letter No. 33 of May 9th.

That letter was written under the belief that, according to the terms of the late Honorable Court's Despatch to the Governor General in Council quoted in my letter of March 28th, Government had the power effectually to interpose. It is true that the taking of furlough in India was not contemplated when that Despatch was framed; but I did not apprehend that, on this account, a servant of Government taking such furlough could be free from Government control, especially as it was distinctly stated in General Orders, published on the 22nd of February last, that "an officer taking his furlough in India, if he be resident within the Presidency, will be amenable to the same authority as that to which he would be subject if on private affairs in India under the local regulations."

Moreover, I observed that this furlough in India could only be taken "subject in each case to the approval of Government," and concluding that what Government conceded it could also for adequate reasons withdraw, I did not doubt that such reasons would be found in the character of the editorials which Mr. Gell was penning, for some of which the *Times of India* is now under prosecution for libel in the High Court. Whatever the issue of that prosecution, so far as the question of libel is concerned, there can be, I imagine, but one opinion as to a clergyman on the Ecclesiastical Establishment taking advantage

of his position as a newspaper editor to assail another officer of Government, and to do so in the vehement and offensive language which Mr. Gell has used. I hold such conduct to be a disqualifying of himself for the "discharge of his primary duties to Government" as one of its Chaplains.

Upon these grounds I am concerned for the delay which must take place while a reference is made to the Secretary of State; for it is impossible to say into what new developments the scandal already created may pass before an answer from England can be received.

I have the honour to request that this letter may be transmitted to Her Majesty's Secretary of State with the correspondence to which it relates.

On the 8th August, 1864 the Government of Bombay addressed the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood as follows:—

The Reverend F. Gell took a furlough in India, and shortly afterward became one of the editors of the *Times of India*, a local Newspaper.

The Lord Bishop of Bombay in consequence addressed us, as in his letter No. 30 of 28th March, objecting to such duty being undertaken by any clergyman.

He again addressed us as in his letter No. 33 of May 9th, in which he objected to the character of certain articles which appeared in the *Times of India*.

We accordingly replied as in our Secretary's letter No. 73 of 20th June, pointing out that there are two distinct questions:—

1st.—The propriety of a clergyman occupying the position of editor of a Newspaper.

To this the Bishop replied as in his letter No. 43 of 5th July, submitting the correspondence which had taken place between himself and the Reverend Mr. Gell.

Beside the questions stated, the Bishop's letters raise a third, viz. whether, irrespectively of the propriety of a clergyman undertaking the editorship of a Newspaper at all, the Reverend Mr. Gell's conduct as editor has been such as to warrant interference by Government on that ground alone. We cannot view this question in the same light as the Lord Bishop treats it. The articles to which His Lordship alludes in his letter of 9th May, accompany this despatch; and to say nothing of

the uncertainty as to who actually writes a particular article in a Newspaper, we do not think that the Reverend Mr. Gell can be exceptionally treated on account of the character of those articles.

Again we do not think that we can advantageously entertain the question of whether the post of editor of a Newspaper be necessarily unbecoming a clergyman.

The Government, it seems to us, can only decide what considerations should restrict the occupations of its servants during furlough. We see no sufficient reason for excluding any occupations, within the limits of lawful and respectable employments, excepting those likely to cause engagements extending beyond the duration of the furlough and those which lead to new relations with Government, independent of, and liable to be inconsistent with, the relations between Government and its paid officers.

The functions both of a Newspaper and of its editor are of an informal character; but criticism of the administration of Government is so generally recognized by Englishmen as one of the most important purposes of a Newspaper, that we are inclined to regard the editorship of a *Local Newspaper* as virtually placing a servant of Government in new and very probably antagonistic relations with Government, and therefore an occupation from which a Government servant on furlough should be excluded.

We append copies of our several minutes on this subject, and we would add that we should have at once acted on the above stated opinion but for the consideration pointed out in our President's minute, that any rule on the point will have a wider application than contemplated by the Lord Bishop, and that we are therefore anxious to fortify our decision by the authority of H. M's Government.

Referring to the 3rd para: of the Revd. Mr. Gell's letter of March 28th, we beg to state that we do not know who are the servants of Government to whom he alludes as engaged in editing the *Bombay Saturday Review* and the *Catholic Examiner*.

On the 16th November, 1864 Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, replied to the Bombay Government as follows:—

I have considered in Council your letter dated 8th August (No. 3) 1864, forwarding correspondence with the Bishop of Bombay relative to the undertaking by the Reverend F. Gell of the editorship of the *Times of India*, while taking his furlough in India, and requesting the opinion of

Her Majesty's Government before issuing any orders on the question of the editing of Newspapers by Government officers.

In reply I have to observe that under the orders addressed by the Court of Directors to the Government of India of 11th May 1853, it was within your competence to deal definitely with the case of Mr. Gell, but as you have thought fit to refer it for my decision, I think it proper to state that I am of opinion that no officer, civil or military, whether he be in actual service or on furlough, ought to be permitted to edit a newspaper in India without the express sanction of the Government.

¹ J. M. Maclean writes in his autobiography:—"I found on my arrival in Bombay in November 1859 that Bombay editors held a good social position. I was at once made a member of the principal clubs and military messes, and was received with open arms by the services and the business community of the city. Anglo-Indian society in those days was singularly free and cordial; a spirit of free-masonry, if I may so express it, prevailed, and I quickly made many friends with whom I established a lifelong intimacy.

"But my work was not so pleasant; the newspaper office which I had joined was very badly organised, mainly through want of adequate means, and the subjects of discussion were quite unfamiliar and distasteful. To one accustomed, as I had been, to the well-organised arrangements of an English newspaper, and the full and free public life of England, the change was quite disheartening, and my first year in India (1860) was the most unhappy time I had ever spent. The life, apart from the office work, was pleasant enough.

"I found my position so intolerable that I threw it up, with the intention of returning to England, where I had held a good position on the Press. But better thoughts prevailed; my friends rallied round me; at their suggestion I started a newspaper of my own (the *Bombay Saturday Review*) and from that moment all went well."

In his "Recollections of Westminster and India," J. M. Maclean wrote thus:—

"At the end of 1859 when I had had five years' steady work as an English journalist and had written largely on both political and commercial affairs I went out to India to take up the editorship of the *Bombay Gazette*. This position had been offered to me through Mr. Alexander Russel of the *Scotsman*, one of the wittiest and most kind-hearted of men, who had previously recommended me to the proprietors of the *Manchester Guardian*. Mr. Russel suggested to me that by going to India I might take up the imperial questions and so 'lay down a double line of rails.' It is difficult, however, to imagine a position more forlorn than that of an Indian journalist in those days, when there was no telegraph to Bombay and only a mail from England once a fortnight. Newspaper offices were badly organised and not too well provided with the means of undertaking new enterprises. Indian questions were unfamiliar and distasteful, and an editor too often found himself in the luckless state of being obliged to make bricks without straw. I found my employment so intolerable that I threw it up with the intention of returning to England. I had, however, made a good many friends who persuaded me to try my fortune once again in India. With their help I founded a weekly critical paper which I called the *Bombay Saturday Review*. In form it was closely modelled upon the *Economist*. No venture of

Gell's editorial engagement with the *Times of India* is an important chapter of the political history of the Indian Press. Knight was very largely responsible for creating this memorable event, and in his memoirs wrote thus :

The Rev. Francis Gell, Chaplain in the Bombay establishment, was appointed by myself editor of the *Times of India* in 1864 ; and although the Bishop of Bombay sent in a protest against the appointment, both the local Government and the Home Government, to whom the matter was referred, refused to interfere.

Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, refused to interfere with Gell's engagement as acting editor of the *Times of India*. In December, 1864 the Rev. Gell went home and was relieved by Louis Jennings,¹ as acting editor of the *Times of India*, who was then staying in Bombay as the

the kind had previously been started in India, and the newspaper attracted much attention, and soon acquired considerable circulation and influence.

There happened at that time to be in Bombay in connection with the founding of the new University a band of highly intellectual and literary men fresh from the English Universities where they had been selected among the most promising young men of the day. These men, including Sir Alexander Grant (himself an old *Saturday Reviewer*), Mr. E. J. Howard, Professor Hughlings and Professor William Wordsworth, (a relation of the great English poet) rallied round me and wrote regularly for my paper, and I had the invaluable assistance of such men as Sir George Birdwood and Sir Raymond West (of the Indian Civil Service), while the Governor himself, Sir Bartle Frere, did not disdain to send me some occasional notes. I had also the occasional help of that miracle of quaint learning and rhetorical vehemence and prolixity, the late Mr. Chisholm Anstey, who after a meteoric career in the English House of Commons, passed the evening of his days as a practising barrister in Bombay.

Captain E. W. West, a member of the Political Department of Bombay, whose promise of future distinction was cut short by a premature death, was also one of my most regular contributors. Mr. and Mrs. Lockwood Kipling, the parents of Mr. Rudyard Kipling, who were then residents in Bombay, gave me frequent help. I had thus surrounded myself with colleagues who could really turn out first class work.

So far as I was personally concerned my business prospered largely with the growth of the town, and I was enabled in 1864 to put down £15,000 for the purchase of the daily paper, the *Bombay Gazette* (from John Cannon who was appointed Magistrate of Bombay) of which I remained the proprietor till 1880 when I finally left India.

There is a biographical sketch of James Mackenzie Maclean in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

¹ Louis John Jennings, the journalist and politician, was born in England on May 12, 1836. He was the son of John Jennings, a member of an old Norfolk family. Before he was twenty five, Jennings became connected with the *Times* of London for which

special correspondent of the London *Times*. In February, 1865 William Martin Wood arrived from home and relieved Louis Jennings from the acting editorship of the *Times of India*.

(To be continued).

S. C. SANIAL

journal, he was sent out to India as a special correspondent in 1863. While staying at Bombay in 1864 he acted temporarily as editor of the *Times of India* of Bombay after the departure of Robert Knight for home in the same year. In the beginning of 1865 he came down to Calcutta to edit the *Friend of India* of Serampur during the absence of its editor, Dr. George Smith. This connection was also for a few months. Though a powerful writer, he gave great offence to the Calcutta Trades by describing a certain member of that honourable body who was also a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, as better fitted to frame mirrors than to frame laws. In 1866 he returned home and went to America as the representative of the *Times* in the place of Dr. Charles Murray. In 1867 he published "Eighty Years of Republican Government in the United States" in London, and in the same year, married Madeline, daughter of David Henriques of New York. He settled in New York in consequence of his marriage and became editor of the *New York Times*. The municipal Government of the city had fallen into the hands of the Tammany Ring and "Boss" Tweed. Jennings, undeterred by threats of personal violence, and even of murder, during many months, exposed the malpractices in his paper, and finally had the satisfaction of seeing the corrupt organisation broken up through his public spirited and courageous efforts, and the ring leaders who had defrauded their fellow-citizens of millions of dollars, punished. This remarkable achievement was commemorated by a testimonial to Jennings, signed by the representatives of the best classes in New York.

Louis Jennings returned to London in 1876 to devote himself to literature, founded and edited *The Week*, a newspaper which did not meet with much success, and became a contributor to the *Quarterly Review* for the publisher of which, John Murray, he acted as reader. In 1877 he had charge of the city articles in the *World*. In November 1885 and in July 1886 he was elected M. P., for Stockport in the Conservative interest and became absorbed in politics. He was a trusted friend and adviser of Lord Randolph Churchill but dissociated himself when Lord Randolph attacked the appointment of the Parnell Commission in 1889. He acted for a considerable period as London Correspondent of the *New York Herald*. After two years' illness, he died on February 9, 1893, at Elm Park Gardens, London. His most important literary work was an edition of "The Croker Papers: The Correspondence and Diaries of the late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty from 1809 to 1830." In 1887 he published a study of Gladstone, a severe party attack criticised by H. J. Leech in "Mr. Gladstone and his Reviler." His last literary work was an edition of the speeches of Lord Randolph Churchill with notes and introduction.

The Rt. Hon'ble Winston Spencer Churchill, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, has spoken in appreciative terms, in the Life of his father, of the work of Jennings while in India in the early sixties of the last century.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

I

As Robert Knight served his journalistic apprenticeship under Dr. George Buist, it is fitting that in the Biography of Knight, Dr. Buist's journalistic career should find a prominent place. In May 1840 he was selected as the editor of the *Bombay Times* because of the eminence he had attained as a provincial journalist in Scotland. He came to Bombay with eight years' experience in the newspapers of Forfar, Perth and Fife and with an excellent scientific and literary training. He kept up his connection with the home papers throughout his stay in India, being a valued contributor to some of the best London papers, including the *Times*, on Indian, political and scientific subjects. Buist stayed in Bombay for eighteen years, leaving it only to die a short time after in Allahabad. Seventeen of these eighteen years he spent in the service of the *Bombay Times*, making it the best and most extensively circulated journal in Western India, enjoying great personal influence and commanding the respect of all men. He was secretary to the Bombay Geographical Society, was founder and superintendent of the School of Industry Sewree, Bombay, in which he spent nearly the whole of his fortune, was in charge of the Astronomical Metereological and Magnetic Observatories, Bombay, was secretary to the Agricultural Society of Western India, and was in charge of their experimental garden. He took a large part in the public affairs of the city. He worked hard for the paper and made it not only an influential organ of public opinion, but also a flourishing concern from a pecuniary point of view. The undertaking was a small one in the beginning, but, in 1850, when the *Bombay Times* changed its proprietors, it transpired that during the previous ten years Buist had earned as remuneration or free profit for his employers the sum of Rs. 3,30,000 in cash, besides meeting all the charges of the establishment and extending its strength and efficiency. The paper, in fact, flourished so much, yielding from 30 to 40 per cent. annually on the amount originally invested, that many of the most distinguished Government officials became shareholders as soon as the Court of Directors passed the order (Despatch from the Court of Directors No. 9 (political) dated the 21st April 1841), allowing its civil and military servants to be connected with the Press. In 1847 the

principal proprietors, after the editor, were the puisne Judge of the Sudder Adawlut, the Collector of Customs, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the Bombay Army, the Secretary to the Medical Board, who afterwards became Physician-General, and the Medical Storekeeper, who later became Superintending Surgeon at the Bombay Presidency.

The close connection which Government servants maintained with the *Bombay Times* in those days may also be seen from its subscription list. From a classified list of subscribers laid before the proprietors about the beginning of 1852, it appears that of every thousand subscribers, 123 were civil servants of the Government, 179 messes of regimental libraries, 317 military men, 52 British merchants, 36 banks and public corporations, 26 natives, 243 private individuals, uncovenanted servants, tradesmen, etc., the rest clergymen, lawyers, native rajahs, and the like. Thus two-thirds of the whole were officers under the crown or covenanted servants of the Government.

His services to the public through the *Bombay Times* during the first twelve years of his editorship, were recounted by Dr. Buist in a petition dated 7 November 1852 to the House of Commons during the periodical Parliamentary Inquiry into the East India Company's affairs on the renewal of the Charter in 1852. In a significant passage he said "I not only devoted the columns of the *Bombay Times* to the advancement of good government, to the spread of education, of improvement and economy, to the denunciation of those bloody and superfluous wars which within these twelve years have cost us thirty millions sterling, and that policy which under the name of expediency disregards the principles of truth and justice, and sets up a standard of morals for statesmen opposed to the principles of Christianity, and the evils of which to our name and characters, as Wellington has so well remarked, cannot be compensated by the most brilliant victories, but has, as far as circumstances permitted, endeavoured in his private capacity to promote the improvements he as an editor recommended—a circumstance to which numerous letters of acknowledgement received from Government bear ample testimony."

At the commencement of his editorial career Buist strongly condemned the Post Office arrangements of the day, and in recommending their improvement, collected with great labour and care and published a vast mass of steam and mail statistics which he found scattered about in a hundred different quarters, and which he, for the first time, put into convenient and popular form, and the desired changes were in a great measure brought about in the course of two years. In 1840 he condemned

the arrangements made for the reception of sick soldiers from Aden, and a general order was, a few weeks afterwards, issued, securing the remedies suggested. On some large questions of public policy the *Bombay Times* was opposed to the Government. Such was the case in the notorious discussions on Baroda matters, in which it had a very large number of Directors on its side. The enormous sums expended in the Afghan War, and the derangement of the commercial relations occasioned by the transmission of so much specie to a country from which it could not for many years return, were early pointed out by the *Bombay Times*. And its views were fully borne out by the state into which the finances of India had been brought in 1841, when the Hon'ble Mr. Bird, then President in Council, stated to Sir Henry Willock that the closing of the Treasury in September had been contemplated, and by the accounts of the Company since then published. As regards the first Afghan War, the *Bombay Times* pointed out that to maintain the Dooranee alliance was next to impossible, and the attempt to maintain British Power in Afghanistan a folly which could not but issue in the most frightful disasters. Buist's condemnation of the conquest of Sind brought him into direct conflict with that rough-hewn hero, Sir Charles Napier. Buist saw folly and worse in British policy in Sind, and he was at first not credited. "Had the press or the politicians of England," as he wrote, "examined or believed the statements set forth by me and all since fully verified, the blot which Sind throws upon British good name might have been obliterated and the disgrace and mischief it has occasioned us avoided." The controversy with Napier continued for a long time, and was carried on by Napier with all his peculiar vigour and rancour. After his death, his brother published a pamphlet against Buist which certainly does no credit to the brave but eccentric General. The "Blatant Beast" Napier called him, and all the abuse and invective of which he was such a master, of course, recoiled on himself.

Buist presented the above mentioned petition to the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Government of Indian Territories, to vindicate the Indian Press from the charge of being hostile to Government and hit at Sir Charles Napier, "who mentioned the *Gentleman's Gazette* in his public letters, as the only upright, respectable paper in India, that journal having been pronounced by the unanimous voice of the Indian Press, a disgrace to it." He also rebutted in the same petition the evidence of John Stuart Mill before the House of Lords' Committee, "that a most erroneous view of English society in India would be taken, were

it judged of by the Press ; that newspapers in India are of very little use to Government, unless in promoting enquiry ; and that the English newspaper Press in India has little to do with natives or the interests of the country."

Dr. Buist had at heart the good of the Indian people, which manifested itself in his great labours and sacrifice for the Sewre School of Industry of Bombay. But he lacked the exuberant and aggressive sympathy for the Indians which was characteristic of Robert Knight. A Bombay journalist wrote thus :—" Knight was one of the most graceful and accomplished writers ever connected with the Indian Press and his personality was as fascinating as his leading articles. No Anglo-Indian journalist either before or after him, has won the confidence and esteem of the Native community to the extent which he did, and he retained both to the close of his life. For after his removal to Calcutta he made and kept as many Indian friends as he had acquired in Bombay."

There is a short biographical sketch of Dr. Buist in Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, but the date and place of the Doctor's death—Calcutta, Oct. 1, 1860—should be Allahabad, Oct. 1, 1868.

II

Throughout his life Knight entertained the highest respect for Major-General Sir Archibald Galloway. He was very helpful to Knight's father in sending his son out to India which practically determined his fate. Sir Archibald Galloway belonged to the Bengal Infantry and was a cadet of 1799 : became ensign, 29th October, 1800 ; lieutenant, 18th May, 1802 ; Captain, 19th December, 1812 ; Major, 1st May, 1824 ; Lieutenant-Colonel, 6th March, 1826 ; Colonel, 22nd September, 1836 ; Major-General, 23rd November, 1841 ; 1802-7—served in the 22nd Battalion, 14th Native Infantry. There is no written record on the subject, but as he appears to have been present with his battalion during the whole of this period, he probably took part in the defence of Delhi against Holkar in 1804, in the affair of Shamli, and in the operations of 1804-05 under Colonel William Burn against the Sikhs in the Saharanpur District ; 1808-12—serving as Adjutant and Quarter-Master of the 14th Native Infantry. 1812-19—there is no information available at present regarding him during this period, but it is probable that for a part of it he was on field service in Central India against the Mahrattas and Pindaris. 1819-20.—serving with the 1st Battalion, 4th Native Infantry in the Saugar Field Force. 1821-29.—Employed as Agent for Gunpowder at

Ishapore (during this period he was promoted to Major in the 29th Native Infantry and afterwards to Lieutenant-Colonel in the 2nd Native Infantry). 1829-30.—Employed as Refiner of Saltpetre at Ishapore (removed to the 46th and afterwards to the 10th Native Infantry). 1830-35.—Member of the Military Board (removed to the 55th Native Infantry in 1833). Went home on furlough in March, 1835 and never afterwards returned to India. Was made C.B. in 1838 and K. C. B. in 1848. Died in London 6th April, 1850, being then Colonel of the 58th Native Infantry. Director of the E. I. Co. from 1842 to 1849 (Deputy Chairman 1848: Chairman, 1849). He was third Secretary of the College of Fort William at Calcutta. In Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, there is a sketch of his life.

III

The following foot-note was inadvertently omitted from the bottom of page 316 of the last number of this review:—

Wilson proposed an income tax of four per cent. on all incomes of £50 per annum and upwards, two per cent. on incomes between £20 and £50, while incomes below £20 were to be entirely exempted from its operation. Several of the arguments adduced by Knight against this imposition, were also used by Sir Charles Trevelyan, then Governor of Madras, who protested against its imposition on the people of the Madras Presidency. Algernon West in his *Sir Charles Wood's Administration of Indian Affairs from 1859 to 1866* (1867): writes "No opposition to the tax, however, occasioned so much anxiety as that of the Governor of Madras, Sir Charles Trevelyan, who protested against its imposition on the people of that presidency. Had such a protest come to the Governor-General as a confidential communication, it would have been a fitting and proper proceeding, and the opinion of the Governor of Madras was entitled to the greatest consideration; but Sir Charles Trevelyan not only wrote a minute on the subject, but published it, warning the Government that the south of India had twice come to the aid of the Government in the north in their hour of need, and he added, "One hundred years elapsed between those two occasions; but it is impossible to say how soon a third may arise, and it would be impolitic to unite the south with the north of India in a common cause against us."

"It was a serious matter that the Governor of Madras should be opposed to the imposition of a tax deemed absolutely necessary by the Government of India. The publication of his minute condemning the tax was not only a breach of public duty, but was calculated to produce a most prejudicial effect on the native mind, and to cause much embarrassment to the Government of India in a moment of great difficulty, when they were entitled to expect the assistance of all the public servants. The Secretary of State was so deeply impressed with the necessity of giving all the support in his power to the Government of India at such a crisis, that he immediately recalled Sir Charles Trevelyan."

This duty was one of the most painful that could well be imposed on Sir Charles Wood; for Sir Charles Trevelyan was his personal friend and had served for many years

under him in the Treasury at home. And by the irony of fate Sir Charles Trevelyan was sent out to India in 1863 by Sir Charles Wood as the third Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council in succession to Samuel Laing, to upset the policy which he had attacked with intense vigour as Governor of Madras. An Indian journalist appropriately notes thus :- Sir Charles Trevelyan managed as Governor of Madras, to endear himself to the whole people of India by his stout protest against the Income Tax of his brother Financial, James Wilson, then in high favour at Government House. This was embarrassing enough to the Government of India, struggling with popular opposition in its attempts to make both ends meet. But he aggravated his official offence by the impropriety of allowing his remonstrance to go out to the public—it was first published in the *Bengal Hurkaru* newspaper of Calcutta. The Government of India seized the opportunity; and at their instance the Reformer-Governor of Madras was recalled, in little more than a year after his appointment. He had his revenge—of a sort—when, after a few short years' interval, he again came out officially to India, now to fill the same situation that his opponent in Indian Finance, Mr. James Wilson, had held—that of Financial Minister to the Government of India, just vacated by Mr. Laing. He had now an opportunity of correcting the mistakes of the Wilson administration which he was not slow to utilise".

(To be continued).

S. C. SANIAL

SOME CENTRAL PROBLEMS OF RIGVEDIC HISTORY AND VEDIC SCHOLARS.¹

II

The Identity of the Sarasvati.

The modern Sarasvati is a small river. But in the Rig-Veda the Sarasvati has been described as a large and powerful river "flowing from the mountains into the sea." And this has caused a great confusion among the Vedic Scholars as to the identity of the Sarasvati. Roth is of opinion that with a few solitary exceptions, such as R. V. III. 23, 4, where it is mentioned with the Dr̥ṣadvati, and R. V. X. 68, 9, and X. 75, 5, where the name of Sindhu also occurs, the Rig-Vedic Sarasvati must be identified with the Indus. Zimmer, Ludwig and Griffith have accepted Roth's view. Maxmüller and Lassen have, however, rejected this view, and identified the Rig-Vedic Sarasvati with the modern Sarasvati. In Rig-Vedic age, says Maxmüller, the Sarasvati was a large river, as large as the Sutlej, and it then actually reached the sea, either in union with the Indus or direct. The Vedic Index, however, holds that "there is no conclusive evidence of there having been any great change in the size or course of the Sarasvati, though it would be impossible to deny that the river may easily have diminished in size. But there are no strong reasons to accept the identification of the later and the earlier Sarasvati throughout." (*Vol. II, p. 436.*)

This is a mere echo of Roth's view. Mr. Ragozin has also, in his Vedic India, given expression to the same view. Referring to the Rig-Vedic description of the Sarasvati as "flowing from the mountains into the sea," *yati giribhyaḥ samudrāt* (VII. 95, 2.), he tells us, after Roth and Macdonell, that Samudra here means "not the sea or ocean, but the broad

¹ The first instalment of this article I appeared in the last issue of the "Calcutta Review."

expanse formed by the reunion with the Indus of the "Five rivers, whose waters are brought to it by the Panchanada" (Vedic India, p. 268, foot-note). He accordingly thinks that this passage may be taken as a clear proof in support of the "the positive identification of the Sarasvati with the Indus" (*ibid*, p. 208). But this view is clearly wrong. The Tait. Samhitā (VII. 2, 1, 4), the Satap. Brāh. (I. 4. 1. 14), the Kauṣi. Brāh. (XII. 2, 3), the Aitareya Brāh. (II. 19, 1, 2), the Panchavimśa Brāh. (XXV. 10, 1) have all identified the Rig-Vedic Sarasvati with the modern Sarasvati, which having run its short upper course, is now lost into the sands of the Rājputānā desert. And the place of its disappearance has, in later Sanskrit literature, acquired the designation of Vinasana (*cf.* Panchavimśa Brāh. XXV. 10, 6 ; Jaiminiya Brāh. IV. 26 ; etc.) The Mahābhārata (IX. 37, 1) also tells us of the disappearance of the Sarasvati, Yatro naṣṭā Sarasvatī. There are also unmistakable marks of the old river bed still discernable in the sands. And these marks clearly prove that the Sarasvati was, in ancient times, really a very large river. This is also quite evident from what we have said above. The Bharatas, on the eve of the outbreak of the War of the Ten Kings, lived on the Indus Valley, on or near the eastern bank of the Paruṣṇī. Subsequently, as we have seen, they reached the Vipāś and the Śutudrī after a weary march, crossed the rivers, and marched *eastward*, prāchā, to fight the Panchajanas on or near the Sarasvati. And after the final overthrow of the 'Five Tribes,' the Tṛtsu-Bharatas, as we have seen, settled on their newly conquered territory. In R. V. VII. 95, 5, we find Vasiṣṭha actually soliciting, as noticed before, the Sarasvati to accept his hymns and to grant him and his people, the Tṛtsu-Bharatas, a happy residence on her shores, "like sheltered trees on the bank." And in Rik 2 of the very same hymn, the Sarasvati has been described as "flowing from the mountains into the sea." *The Sarasvati so described by Vasiṣṭha was clearly a distinct and independent*

river situated far away from the Indus group of rivers to their east. It must therefore be identified with the modern Sarasvati. And here we are clearly told by Vasiṣṭha that in the Rig-Vedic age it actually flowed into the sea. The Rig-Veda also tells us that Sudās next defeated Bheda and his allies on the Yamunā. From all these it is quite evident that the Sarasvati described by Vasiṣṭha as "flowing into the sea," occupied a position intermediate between the Śutudri and the Yamunā. Evidently, therefore, the Rig-Vedic Sarasvati was exactly the same as the modern Sarasvati, only very much larger than what it is to-day. In the Rig-Veda the Sarasvati has again been described as "the greatest of the rivers," naditamā (II. 41, 16), and as "the greatest of the streams," apsām apaṭtamā (VI. 61, 13); and in Riks 7 and 8 of this latter hymn, it is described as "terrific," ghorā, and as "possessing infinite prowess," Yasyāḥ anantaḥ amah. The very designation of Vinaśana assigned to the place of its disappearance, however, tells the story of its subsequent decay and transformation into the present form. So it is quite clear that in the Rig-Vedic age, the Sarasvati was really a very large river, and it then actually flowed into the Arabian Sea, and that subsequently, for causes not known to us, its fertile valley grew into a desert, and the river dwindled into its present form.

But Dr. A. C. Das has, in his Rig-Vedic India (Calcutta, 1921), formulated a most novel and extravagant hypothesis on this point. From recent geological investigations Dr. Das has inferred that there was a sea, called the Rajputanā Sea, which "lasted, at all events up to the end of the Tertiary epoch," and that the Sarasvati, in the Rig-Vedic age, fell into the Rajputanā Sea, and that, therefore, the particular hymn wherein the Sarasvati is described as "flowing into the sea," and the other similar hymns must have been composed when the Rajputanā Sea was in existence, i.e., "more than tens of thousands of years ago, if not hundreds of

thousands or millions " of years ago (see Rig-Vedic India, pp. 7-8). He further tells us that, in the Rig-Vedic age, "there was no larger river like the Indus in the eastern part of the Punjab; and the Sarasvati, the Ganges and the Yamunā (flowing into the Rajputanā Sea and Eastern Sea respectively) *were only small streams in comparison with the Indus*" (*ibid*, p. 32; the italics are mine). But all these are most extravagant assumptions. The Rig-Veda has most clearly described the Sarasvati, as already noticed, as "the greatest of the rivers," naditamā, and as "terrific," ghorā, and "possessing infinite prowess." Evidently, therefore, it was then at least as large as the Indus, and must have therefore fallen into the Arabian Sea. Dr. Das is also clearly wrong in treating the hymn VII. 95 as among the oldest of the Rig-vedic hymns. The very fact that it was composed on the Sarasvati after the final defeat of the Panchajanas most unmistakably proves its later origin. We must identify the sea mentioned in that hymn with the Arabian Sea; and the extravagant hypothesis of its having been composed at least "tens of thousands years ago," when the Rajputanā Sea was in existence, at once falls to the ground. The other arguments Dr. Das has introduced in support of this extravagant hypothesis are also equally weak and fantastic. But we have no space to discuss them here.

The Kurus and the Pāṇchālas.

In R. V., VII. 95, 5, we find Vasiṣṭha, as already noticed, thus soliciting Sarasvati "O Sarasvati, accept our prayer; we shall dwell on thee, adorned with thy excellent riches, like sheltered trees or thy banks." In Rik 6 of the same hymn, he again solicits the Sarasvati to procure him, the hymn-maker, food, and always to "protect us with thy protection." In R. V., X. 53, 4 and 8, we again meet with a most significant utterance. The Panchajanas are here passionately

enjoined to go across the Aśmanvati flowing in front, in search of a new happy home leaving behind the memories of all sorrows and sufferings. And it seems to be quite clear from the two aforesaid passages that on the final overthrow of the 'Five Tribes' on or near the Sarasvati, the Bharatas settled on their newly-conquered territory with their allies, the Trtsus, and the Panchajanas left their old home, in search of a new happy home elsewhere. And it appears that the victorious Bharatas, or probably the Trtsu-Bharatas now assumed the new appellation of the Kurus; and that thenceforward their newly-conquered territory came to be known in history as Kurukṣetra, "the land of the Kurus." The Mahābhārata consistently describes the royal family of the Kurus as Bharatas. And this strongly supports our contention. The 'Five Tribes,' it also appears, in their search for a new home, very likely ultimately settled on the Gangetic Valley under the new name of the Pāṇchālas. Subsequently the Bharatas also moved further eastward for fresh conquests, and at last settled on the Gangetic Valley, side by side with the Pāṇchālas. And in the Śatap. Brāh. (XIII. 5, 4, 11, 21) we actually find the Bharatas winning victories over the Kāsis and offering sacrifices to the Yamunā and the Ganges.

Weber, therefore, seems to be quite correct in identifying the Pāṇchālas with the 'Five Tribes' (*cf.* Indian Literature, pp. 10, 90, 114, 125, etc.). But the Vedic Index has rejected this view as "not very probable." (Vol. I, p. 469). Following in the footsteps of Oldenberg the Vedic Index has also held a different view about the identity of the Kurus. There was a Puru King, known as Kuruśravaṇa (R. V. X. 33, 4). He was the son of king Trasadasyu. The Vedic Index tells us that "it is probable, as Oldenberg suggests (Buddha, 403-4), that the Purus were afterwards known as the Kurus. Moreover, it is likely that the Trtsu-Bharatas, who formed so powerful a people in the Rig-Veda and were the enemies

of the Purus, later on coalesced with them to form the Kuru people." "According to the Satap. Brāh. (XIII. 5, 4, 77)," adds the Vedic Index, "the old name of the Pāṇchālas was Krivi; which looks like a variant of Kuru" (see Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 166-167). *In the above extracts three different views have been advanced side by side; and the authors of the Vedic Index seem to be at a loss to know which one of them is valid.* The term Kuruśravaṇa, according to Oldenberg, means "the Glory of the Kurus," and the first two of the three aforesaid hypotheses are entirely based on this interpretation of the term. But the question is why should the term Kuruśravaṇa be at all taken to mean "the Glory of Kurus?" *Karuśravaṇa may also mean "the chastiser of the Kurus."* And in this latter sense alone the term fits in with the context. In R. V. X. 33, 4, Kuruśravaṇa is described as unrivalled in munificence. Evidently, therefore, Kuruśravaṇa must have been a rich and mighty king, and a great defender of the honour of the Purus. *This renders the hypothesis of a crushing Puru defeat during his life-time, and a consequent fusion of the Purus with the Bharatas most improbable. The passionate appeal, noticed above, enjoining on the Panchajanas to go out in search of a new happy home elsewhere renders the aforesaid hypothesis still more absurd, and almost entirely untenable.* The Mahābhārata also consistently treats, as already noticed, the Kuru kings and princes as Bharatas. *And this renders all the three above hypotheses referred to by Professor Macdonell equally untenable.* The passage in question in the Satap. Brāh. contains a list of the celebrators of Aśvamedha Sacrifice; and in that list, amongst others, the name of Kraivya Pāṇchāla, a "Pāṇchāla rājā," is mentioned as one of the celebrators of Aśvamedha Sacrifice. Kraivya is here evidently a proper name, as was long ago pointed out by Eggeling (*cf.* his Sacred Books, 397, 398). The same Brāhmaṇa describes Kraivya Pāṇchāla, in the same connection, as "the overlord of the Krivis" (*ibid.*, p. 398).

It does not, therefore, follow that "the old name of the Pāñchālas was Krivi." And it is still more absurd to regard 'Krivi' as "a variant of Kuru." We are accordingly driven to the conclusion that, in all probability, the victorious Bharatas or Trtsu-Bharatas themselves settled on their newly-conquered territory on the Sarasvati under the new name of the Kurus. This view has also the weighty support of the Mahābhārata, which should, on no account, be lightly set aside.

(Concluded.)

N. K. DUTT

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE DANGER OF FALSE OPTIMISM

The South African Government has agreed to a round table conference with the representatives of the Government of India. This news has been hailed as a possibility of the solution of a difficult phase of the problem of Greater India (Indians in South Africa). We warn our countrymen, particularly Indian leaders including Mahatma Gandhi, that there is a distinct danger of false optimism, if they think that by making some kind of a patched-up solution, the problem will be solved. None should think that the present gesture of the South African Government for a round table conference is anything like a fundamental change of its most abominable attitude of asserting "whitemanism" at any cost, even by *indirect expropriation of civil rights and property rights of Indians in South Africa*.

The nature of the danger of false optimism is now quite clear to all Indians, particularly Hindu leaders who have eyes to see and ability to fathom facts without being victims of sentimentalism. Mahatma Gandhi and his Hindu and Moslem followers became victims of false optimism, when they thought that by giving support to the communal and extra-territorial patriotism of the Indian Moslems, they would be able to cement Hindu-Moslem unity. But the result of it has become just the contrary. The Indian Moslems have become more Islam-conscious than India-conscious and this is at the bottom of the present Hindu-Moslem riots. The Moslem leaders even think of demanding that Hindus must not organise to protect and purify Hindu society.

As supporting Khilafatism by the Hindus has resulted in greater Hindu-Moslem tension in India, so it is quite possible that India's accepting the round table conference on the basis

of a certain principle may be a factor which will result in the loss of Indian rights in South Africa, with Indian consent. If the round table conference between the South African and Indian Governments be gaged upon India's acceptance of the policy of "White South Africa" and thus exclusion of the Indians directly or indirectly, and India's acceptance of discrimination of Indians by the South African Government, then the round table conference will do more harm than good, so far as India is concerned.

Let us be frank and look at the whole problem of Indians in South Africa from the standpoint of real politics. It is nothing but *assertion of superiority of whitemen*. As long as Indian slave labourers were beneficial to the White South Africans they allowed the Indians to come to South Africa; but just as soon as the Indians began to live decently and independently and showed sign of assertion, the South Africans began to preach that the Indians were undesirable and were lowering their standard of living. In the past, Indian statesmen accepted the inferiority of the people of India to the so-called whitemen, by submitting to discriminatory measures against the people of India at home and abroad. This was due to slave-psychology or "inferiority complex" and pursuing the doctrines of opportunism.

The people of India, nay the people of Asia, are in no way inferior to the people of Europe. This fact must be recognised and heartily believed by the Indians and Asians, before they will be able to assert their claim of Racial Equality. Europeans, who have studied the problem of Asia, know that Asians are not inferior to Europeans; and Mr. H. G. Wells speaks of it in the following way :

"They do not realize that in Asia the average brain is not one whit inferior in quality to the average European brain; that history shows Asiatics to be as bold, as vigorous, as generous, as self-sacrificing, and as capable of strong collective action as Europeans, and there are and

must continue to be a great many more Asiatics than Europeans in the world. Under modern conditions, world-wide economic and educational equalization. is in the long run inevitable."

What has happened and is happening in South Africa, against the Indians there, is nothing but the expression of the same problem which is troubling the people of Asia in all other parts of the world. Indian scholars and statesmen will find a parallel situation existing in the United States of America in the form of anti-Japanism (anti-Asianism of the whitemen of the United States of America). This will be evident from the study of a very imperial book "The Real Japanese Question" by Mr. K. K. Kawakami, published by Macmillan & Co. The book is full of facts and there is no sentimentalism and false optimism regarding the solution of the question. As I regard that the solution of the question of Indians in South Africa must be worked out not on a basis of false compromise, but by assertion of Racial and Political Equality of the people of India with all whitemen, I take great pleasure in quoting the views of the Japanese scholar who views the problem of American-Japanese relations and its solution in a very clear way. Mr. Kawakami says:

"International usage, unwritten but nevertheless in force, rules that no nation should be discriminated against by any Power with which it is on a plane of equality... ..As the world advances along the path of civilization this theory must receive greater recognition. That the restriction of immigration is one of the sovereign rights of a nation does not mean that it may adopt arbitrary rules freely admitting immigrants from one country and rigorously excluding those from another. If a nation finds it necessary to adopt an exclusion law, such a law should be made applicable to all nations, or at any rate to those nations admitted to the family of advanced Power. If a nation may arbitrarily discriminate against one country and favour another in the matter of immigration, there is no reason or logic that deprives that nation of the right to adopt arbitrary and discriminatory measures in other matters, the tariff for instance. Backed by force, all nations can adopt such measures of arbitrary discrimination. But the consequence of such a practice would be international chaos and

disturbance. If an international question is amenable to amicable adjustment by mutual concession of the parties concerned, this course should by all means be preferred to that of might and force as advocated by jingoistic exclusionists."

The learned Japanese author raises the fundamental question in the following manner and answers it in a masterly fashion :

" That question is, is the existing world order right, allowing a few nations to monopolize vast territories and enormous resources, and compelling others to eke out an existence out of their limited lands and scanty resources !..... Let us glance at the Map of Asia before the war (World War) and compare it with that after the war. Asia's total area measures some 17,206,000 square miles, of which 10,000,000 square miles were before the war controlled by Western Powers as follows :—

Russia	...	...	6,495,970 square miles
Great Britain	...	...	1,998,220 „
Holland	...	...	586,980 „
France	...	...	247,580 „
United States of America	...	...	114,370 „
Germany	...	...	193 „

" As the outcome of the war the small German possessions in China have been wiped out, but British and French possessions in Asia have increased by more than 100,000 square miles. *To-day therefore* Europe and America control 10,100,000 square miles of Asiatic territories with vast mineral resources..... Roughly speaking, the land area of the earth measures 52,825,000 square miles supporting 1,751,700,000 inhabitants. Of this total area the Caucasian peoples (the so-called White peoples of Europe and America) occupy or control about 46,146,084 square miles, comprising Europe, North and South America, Australasia and most of Africa and Asia. It will be seen that the Caucasian race (the White people of Europe), having completed the occupation of Europe and the Americas, has conquered and secured control of the whole of Australasia, almost all of Africa, the greater part of Asia, as well as the adjacent islands. *And the Caucasian peoples who control so vast a territory number only 623,000,000. In other words, there are only 13.5 Caucasians to each square mile of land. On the other hand, the native population of Asia number no less than 900,000,000. And yet they control only 6,679,000 square miles of territory, because Siberia*

and Turkestan are occupied by Russia, India by Great Britain, Tonking and Cochin China by France, while Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia and Northern Manchuria, aggregating 2,655,000 square miles are fast passing under British or Russian control. In other words, there are 134.8 Asiatics to each square mile of Asiatic land.

"It may, therefore, be safely said that Asia's 900,000,000 souls have been expropriated of most of their territory and are to-day permitted to possess only 6,679,000 square miles. This of course, does not mean that Asiatics have been evicted from Asiatic territories controlled by Europeans, and that 900,000,000 people are actually compelled to live within the area of 6,679,000 square miles, *i.e.*, 134.8 to the square mile. True it is that the natives of Asia are permitted to continue their habitation in India, Cochin China, Siberia and other Asiatic territories which have passed under the European scepter. But the fact remains that Asiatic nations are, by this process of expropriation, deprived of the opportunity to utilize the vast resources lying at their very doors.

"It must be remembered that the Caucasian nations (Whites of Europe and America, Australia, Africa) are always on the alert to exclude outside enterprises, and especially those of non-Caucasian peoples, from the territories they control. Even where they profess to follow the principles of free trade, they set up a barrier against non-Caucasian immigration. Moreover, by reason of their priority and their accumulated wealth, they have so firmly intrenched themselves that outsiders, most of all non-Caucasian outsiders, find little chance to launch new enterprises in competition with them.

"It cannot be disputed that colonies, sparsely populated yet rich with resources, are valuable assets to a nation with small, over-populated territory. They relieve the mother country in two ways—they afford shelter to its surplus population, and they enable it to support its population at home more adequately by reason of stimulation and increase which their products naturally offer to the commerce and industry. It was the good luck of the Anglo-Saxon race to gather in its lap most of the desirable colonies in the World. Those European nations that came after it in the race for colonial expansion have had to be contented with territories whose value is often doubtful. And the Asiatic nations which came still later, not only cannot find any oversea territory available for colonization, but have had to offer their own lands upon the altar of Western ambition. The so-called colonies of Japan, Korea and Formosa, are in reality not colonies at all, for they are already so well populated that they offer no room for Japanese settlers.

"Here, in a nutshell, is a condition which should not be ignored in any consideration of international problems affecting the peoples of Asia. *It is obvious that the great Powers of the West have accumulated more land than they should rightly own...than they can hold without doing injustice to the smaller nations, which find themselves in sad plight, due to the impossibility of finding room for their surplus population. The injustice of holding such vast territories would not be so obvious, if they were to recognize, in favor of the small nations, the principle of unhindered immigration and of unrestricted enterprise within those territories. It is when they erect insurmountable walls around themselves and adopt a hidebound policy of exclusion that they become a menace to the welfare of the human race.*

"It seems to me that any proposition for permanent peace which fails to take into consideration the present inequitable distribution of territory, cannot be carried out without trampling upon the just claims of the smaller nations. *An attempt to build up permanent peace upon the status quo of the world seems as futile as an attempt to rear a Tower of Babel upon foundation of sand.*

"A pacifist program for permanent peace and disarmament must, if it is not to infringe upon justice, presuppose a radical alteration of the *status quo* of the world which we have briefly described. To permit, on the one hand, the continuation of the existing state of distribution of territory, and to urge, on the other hand, the adoption of the pacifist program of disarmament, arbitration and permanent peace, is to offer a jewel, too precious to be of any practical value, to those small nations which are crying for bread. *Such a proposition will simply benefit the great Powers of the West which have built up great empires of territory and wealth partly at the expense of the weaker peoples of the East, and partly by reason of their priority in the race for colonial expansion.*

"And yet any proposition to alter the *status quo* along the line I have suggested would at once be condemned by the opulent, contented Powers as disturbance of the peace. In their eyes a small nation that should dare raise a finger against the present order of things would be a disturbing element, a rebel and an outlaw. When American editors and writers censure Japan's recent activities in China they seem unwittingly to adopt the set view of the great governments of Europe whose interests can be best served in the maintenance of the existing equilibrium in the Far East. *It is obvious that a program to establish permanent peace with justice should contain one or two propositions, namely, a more equitable distribution of territory, or the removal of the exclusive policy adopted by the Western colonial Powers against peoples.*

"To the staid thinkers of the Occident this must seem a picturesque and Quixotic proposition. It is no more picturesque than were Socialism and trade unionism at their inception. Just as the economic theories, which were, less than a century ago, denounced as visionary and perverted, have since gradually been woven into practical politics of various nations, so the above proposition will in time be seriously considered, not only by thinkers and theorists, but by practical men of affairs in all parts of the world. Unless we make supreme efforts to realize this ideal we can take but one alternative—the perpetuation of the savage "law of the survival of the fittest" which is equivalent to the Bismarckian axiom, "Might is right."

"This, in short, is the fundamental question. It goes without saying that it cannot be solved by a "gentleman's agreement," an exclusion law, a "percentage" plan, or such palliative measures. As the question is fundamental, its solution must also be fundamental. Can it be done? It must be done, if it takes centuries. The idea is chimerical in the sense that Christianity and all great doctrines are chimerical, no more or no less."

Then the fundamental question that is facing Indian statesmen regarding the solution of the South African Question is not the preservation of "Gandhi-Smuts Agreement" which is based upon the unjust solution through practical exclusion of Indians by the South African Government. The round table conference which will be held to discuss the grave question, should recommend the solution of the problem, on the basis of the revision of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement, in such a way as will afford Racial and Political Equality to Indians and all Asiatics in South Africa. There cannot be any compromise on this point.

Indian statesmen in the past have acted as victims of opportunistic compromise. By doing so they have not only bartered the rights of the people of India, but all the Asiatic peoples. Restriction and exclusion of Indians in South Africa is being now applied against all Asiatics. In America, the United States first applied the Exclusion policy against the Chinese, then against the Japanese and now against the people of India and all Asia. So Indian statesmen should not think

of solving the problem, facing them, by catering to the British authorities or the proponents of the absurd doctrine of "superiority of the White men." They should make common cause with the Chinese, the Japanese and other peoples of Asia for the equitable solution of the whole problem on the basis of no discrimination, no exclusion of the Asiatics, but Racial and Political Equality for Indians within and outside, the British Empire. The ideal must not be sacrificed under any condition.

When the British Labour Party came to power and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald assumed the role of British Premier and Mr. Thomas was the Secretary of the Colonies, the Indian statesmen were victims of false optimism. They received the lawless laws in India from the Macdonald Government; and they were most unjustly treated in the British colonies, particularly in Kenya. There is no reason to believe that the Government of General Hertzog will be any better than that of General Smuts on the question of rights of Indians in South Africa. Whatever may become the result of the round table conference, the Indian Government will betray Indian interests, if it accepts any form of exclusion of or discrimination against Indians as basis of an agreement.

TARAKNATH DAS

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II

Modern Biography.

Lafeadio Hearn, in a lecture on composition, told the story : " I was startled some years ago in Kyoto while watching a Japanese drawing horses. He drew the horses very well ; but he always began at the tail. Now it is the western rule to begin at the head of the horse ; that is why I was surprised."

This is the situation in which one finds one's self in beginning an essay on modern biography. One ought to begin at the head, but there is the temptation and the probability that one will begin at the tail. Modern biography is a subject that is seemingly simple at the first glance but one that expands to wholly unexpected proportions the more one studies it.

Marc Connelly (an American writer and literary critic) recently said " Fiction is having its death struggle with biography." He uttered the words seriously and although he had no figures to present at the moment in support of his contention, there are, nevertheless, statistics which give abundant authority to his assertion. These statistics are evidenced, for instance, in a recent communication from the New York Public Library. In 1925 in that library there was a circulation of three hundred thousand biographies. This is not a large figure in comparison with the circulation of five million volumes of fiction in that year, but it represents an increase of twenty-seven and a half per cent. in the circulation of biographies over a period of five years, with a corresponding decrease of fifteen per cent. in the circulation of fiction during that time. That is to say, fifty thousand more biographies were circulated in 1925 than in 1920 ; and seven hundred thousand fewer volumes of fiction. So Marc Connelly was in the right when he trembled for the fate of fiction.

The gain in popularity, however, is not apparent only in library statistics. It is much more plainly perceived in the content of daily newspapers and monthly periodicals. Some years ago in the United States there were two pioneers in the field of biographical periodical literature, *The American Magazine* and *Success*. To-day the popular demand for literature of the type known as the personal-feature article is so persistent that no daily, weekly, or monthly publication would think of appearing on the news stands without the personal-feature article in its pages. There is no question of the fact that these stories of personal

achievement and success are the leaders in appealing to popular taste. One, too, has but to glance at the shelves of the book shops to see what books are given prominent display. They are inevitably books of a biographical nature: the books one finds on the tables in the homes of one's friends. The titles run very much like following: *One Man's Life*, Herbert Quick; *I Meet My Contemporaries*, Maximilian Harden; *From Immigrant to Inventor*, Michael Pupin; *Letters of Bret Harte: Lincoln—The Prairie Years*, Carl Sandburg; *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, Barclay Acheson, and so on. Each volume is biographical, personality-revealing.

Biography itself is a word from the Greek meaning "life-writing." It is a form of history applied—not to races and groups of men—but to individuals. The earliest use of the word is attributed to Damascius, a Greek writer of the early 6th century. The term *biographia* came into vogue with the rise of Roman civilization, and it was Dryden who, in 1683, first used the word biography in a description of Plutarch's *Lives*. All men previous to Dryden considered the recording of the history of a man's life an opportunity to laud certain definitely moral qualities or condemn those definitely unmoral. This utilization of a moral background for ulterior motives, however, we know has not been confined to biography. Arnold Bennett points out, in an introduction to *Dostoevsky*, a biographical study by Andre Gide. "Of course, no novelist can achieve anything permanent without a moral basis or background. Balzac had it. De Maupassant had it to the point of savagery. Zola had it, in his degree. Paul Bourget—a writer whom highbrows French and English have still to reckon with—has it." But it is to biography the credit goes for first utilizing the opportunity presented in literature to eulogize a man's life, by pointing out traits of aid to societal virtue and lamenting those of detriment. As one author so aptly puts it: "The earliest attempts at biography were to clothe the subject with all the virtues or with all the vices: to make his career a splendid example or a solemn warning." And there are many to-day who regard biography in this light. Witness the words of Mr. Frank Parker Stockbridge, of the American Library Association: "It is the private life of Helen of Troy which intrigues the modern reader. If this sort of thing keeps up—the publication of real or fictioned biographies which present their subjects as something less austere than plaster saints—aren't some of the younger generation going to wonder whether their own immediate elders are as impeccable as their parental poses attempt to convey? And then what becomes of parental authority?.....Even the old histories and biographies have lost their authority, as witness the flood of revealing books which the authorities

of a past generation would have branded as nothing less than subversion, if they did not burn them as blasphemous. Well, at any rate, we are getting rid of some of our tribal taboos; and when one of the lesser tribes without the law does that, we call it progress." This tribal taboo is the belief that famous people are unable to behave like human beings. Modern biography has in many cases stripped away the veil. Mr. Stockbridge sees some good in this but on the whole he prefers the biography that offers up the subject as a splendid example or a solemn warning, and there is nothing in the obviously wicked *The private Life of Helen of Troy*¹ to deter a younger generation from wishing to lead an equally interesting and fascinating life.

Biography hardly began to exist as such in English literature until the close of the reign of Henry VIII, when William Roper wrote his life of Sir Thomas More and George Cavendish wrote his unforgettable *Memoir of Cardinal Wolsey*. If one were to trace the progress of biography to its present stage of development, one would best begin with a study of its form. The earliest form of biography was rhetorical, and we find no greater example of this than the *Lives* of Plutarch. But Plutarch was honest. He employed supererogation in an artful combination with frank portrayal of vices that left no feeling of preachment in the reader's mind. So great a peak was reached by Boswell's *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson* that biography became an accepted literary form, a position which it had not occupied earlier, and biographies began to deluge the literary world. The sea still surges, and, although the nineteenth century saw a type of biography less honest, and more virtue-praising than the Plutarch-form, the quality is good. The form is no longer rhetorical. It may be anything the biographer chooses.

There are two classifications of biography to-day which, although arbitrary, might well be made. These are *fictional biography* and *biographical fiction*. Each dovetails the other; the one characterizes the invasion of the field of biography by fiction, and the other the invasion of the field of fiction by biography as pointed out earlier. Men like their literary meals flavored with a little spice of adventure, and so recourse has been had to romance. Early biographies did not resort to romance, and it is in this we find one of the differences between the ancient and the modern forms. To-day it is not enough that biography deal with personal narrative alone! Such a type of historic biography we would characterize

¹ *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*, Bobbs, Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind.

as "dry as dust," and to gain readers for this dry-as-dust form would be as difficult as it was for Paul in Rome to gain Onesimus for Christ.

A twentieth century biography, to be readable, must be written with a pen that has been dipped deeply in this fluid of romance. A life of Caius Marius today is not interesting in itself; its dates and events have no significance that is inherent. The life of Caius Marius is popularly of interest in its meaning for the lives of other men, and for no other reason. Biography today is a means of reflecting the passer-by. It must uphold a mirror in which the reader may see himself, his hopes, his dreams, his will, his aspirations, and his yearnings. He must find in these achievements of others a meaning of potentiality for himself. If he does not, he is dulled. As Lord Bacon truly said books are "most current for that they come home to men's business and bosom." It is this mirroring of the reader in the pages of a biography, and the resort to romance to achieve the end, that we call fictionizing biography. Or, to put it differently, romance is applied to clothe events, not with added historical accuracy, but philosophical meaning. It is a strange situation that we find ourselves in today: fiction attempting to be realistic and biography attempting to be romantic.

The biographer makes his own *index expurgatoris*. He may embrace in his account the entire span of a man's life—from birth to death—or he may condense the record to an account of a brief ten years, or he may, should he choose, reduce it to an even briefer period of a single year. Franz Werfel has done this in his very interesting biographical work, *Verdi—A Novel of the Opera*,¹ in which he draws so complete and understanding and sympathetic a portrait of the music master that one feels that in this single year the entire measure of his life is visualized.

Not only does the biographer select the number of years he will cover, but he sets for himself a task very much as the preacher gives himself to the accomplishment of an end in and with the people who sit before him. One preacher, in fact, has advocated to his students the writing at the top of a sermon what one intends to accomplish with it. So might the biographer start well with a summary of the aim he expects to realize, or the purpose of his undertaking. Is he to render for the reader a faithful account of his subject's life, in all its ramifications of dates and events? Or is he to strive chiefly to uphold that mirror in whose interesting surface society may hope to find its own reflection? Just as the preacher, he expects something to happen, something momentous. And usually it does. One does not listen to sermons without being moved. One does not read biographies without

¹ *Verdi—A Novel of the Opera*, Franz Werfel, Rimon & Achuster, New York.

being stirred.....one is either better or worse for the experience. Edmund Gosse, writing of Ibsen's preparation for creative work, said "Ibsen's preparation consisted of incessant observation of real life, incessant capture of unaffected, unconsidered phrases, actual living experience leaping in his hand, like a captive wild animal," and this is the ideal of preparation that ought to be the biographer's.

The question is asked by Lafcadio Hearn, in *Life and Literature*, "Ought one to be a conservative, a classicist? Ought one to be a liberal, a romanticist? I should answer that it does not matter at all which he may happen to be; but he certainly ought to put himself upon one side or the other, and not to try anything so half-hearted as to take a middle course. No middle course policy ever accomplished anything for literature, and never will.....But conservatism has done very much, and liberalism has done still more; and they have done it by their continual contest for supremacy."

In writing of biography one feels constrained, because the subject is so large, so immeasurably larger than one would guess it to be at first. There have been the biographies of classical form, the biographies of rhetoric, and there are the biographies that are almost formless. There are autobiographies, memoirs, reminiscences, collections of letters, historical records. Memoirs are filled with a multitude of details, not only of the private life of the author but from the archives of his friends. Tit-bits of gossip are scattered here and there. Adventure, romance, love.....nothing is missing in the biography of today, whether it is autobiography or the life story of another. An interesting story is told in New York. A newspaper publisher died not long ago, leaving a will in which he bequeathed the sum of ten thousand dollars to a man whom he knew to be his personal enemy, with the request that this man, who was a writer, undertake his biography, and that upon the completion of the book, in an allotted period of two years, he should receive an additional fifty thousand dollars. Strategically wise, this man had made a direct throw at fate; he had silenced a possible enemy and had made the greatest bid known today for a romantic biography.

*Memoirs of Leon Daudet.*¹

There are many books one might well choose for a review in this opening essay on biography, but there are few of a biographical nature

¹ *Memoirs of Leon Daudet*, Edited by Arthur Kingsland Griggs. *The Dial Press*, New York, 35'00.

quite so interesting as the *Memoirs of Leon Daudet* in its present form. This form is a volume that has appeared under the imprint of The Viking Press, New York, and is a collection of certain translated selections from the original *Souvenirs des Milieux Litteraires, Politiques, Artistiques et Medicaux* that appeared in six volumes at intervals between the years 1913 and 1922. The selections are so well chosen that five-sixths of the original French manuscript not included are not missed.

One reader of the *Memoirs of Leon Daudet* has said that the book did not interest him. He stated that it reminded him of an incident that had happened at college, and that Daudet made him think of a college classmate who, upon being asked to write an essay on *The Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson* by Boswell did not read *The Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, but instead found a much shorter book containing a critical study of Boswell. This he read and when his essay was written it pointed out that Boswell had written almost as much about Boswell as he had about Johnson. So, this reader, thought, had Leon Daudet leaned heavily upon the merit and interesting life of his father, Alphonse Daudet. Possibly, but they are interesting—nevertheless. Leon Daudet, too, has won distinction in literature for himself and the criticism is not wholly justifiable. The critic believed also, that Leon Daudet ridicules and scoffs at many people whom he would not regard so lightly had he not his father's prestige for courage. Certain it is that Daudet points many jibes at people whom public opinion regards in the light of genius. The *Memoirs* are peppered with such phrases as this: "He (Hugo) did all this with a simple sincerity which that little dwarf of a Rostand should have copied." But Daudet himself says in a few introspective paragraphs at the end of the volume: "I write these memoirs with the detachment of one who speaks from beyond the grave, although I am still freely alive. I seek neither to flatter nor to slander anyone. I do not care whom I please, nor whom I offend." And there is nothing in the tenets of correct biographical writing to prevent a man from speaking his mind. If Daudet did not admire Rostand and thought of him as a dwarf, no one has more right to say so than Daudet himself. It is pitiful, perhaps, to those of us who admire Rostand so much that this should be the case, but Daudet is entitled to his own opinion and in the liberal position of modern biography no one has authority to limit the expression of that opinion. He does not like Clemenceau, either, in the beginning of his *Memoirs*:—but before the end he alters his opinion. So may he alter in time with regard to Rostand.

There are many people whom he does like, and he possesses a fidelity

to detail that is extremely interesting. Daudet takes up the defence many times of those to whom the public view has not given full credit. We find him stating of Barbey d'Aurevilly, to give a single instance : " Whatever may have been true of his early years, Barbey d'Aurevilly... had a genuine nobility of attitude, with a turn of phrase and a wit that were all his own. Poor, but proud as Lucifer, as full of fantastic notions as Cervantes' hero, but remarkably lucid in some of his opinions, d'Aurevilly held firmly to his beliefs and prejudices at a time when everything had become unhinged by the sheer weight of democratic stupidity... His head touched the stars. He was unlike any other man of letters whom I ever knew. His aphorisms, his condemnations, his laudations, descended upon us as from some higher sphere."

Daudet is fearless. He speaks against and on behalf of individuals with equal candor, caring not whom he may offend, and it is this frankness and the fact that his eyes have witnessed many scenes it has been the privilege of but few to behold, that endow the book with charm and vitality. He is most at home when he is talking of the people whom he knew intimately. In his references to Henry James, on the contrary, he is pedantic and strident and almost unfamiliar. Perhaps it is because we of the Anglo Saxon race knew Henry James better than a Frenchman could know him, and that it is in our own familiarity and the foreigner's strangeness that the seeming want of sympathy lies. Daudet is not unappreciative of James, and he writes many warm words in his behalf, but it is when writing of his own people, in his own environment, that he is best. On the subject of Victor Hugo he is superb. There are many, many passages about Hugo, but the most impressive is perhaps that about his death. Turning to it, we find :

" At the first news of his illness, crowds gathered at the avenue d'Eylau. German See, the Jewish physician, was there, going in and out, looking very solemn, his enormous head hunched between his shoulders. Lockroy (Hugo's son-in-law) bustled about amid a flock of minor government officials whom their chiefs had sent to get the latest news. The Republic's grandfather lay dying. What was really genuine and touching was the grief of Hugo's grand-children. They passionately loved their 'papapa,' as they called him, and they wept unrestrainedly, without regard for official etiquette or social conventions. To them Hugo was not merely famous ; he was, most of all, some one who loved them, doted on them, spoiled them." * * * *

Daudet ever intertwines the Human with Divine.

"(After the death) The poets, headed by Catulle Mendes, announced their intention of keeping watch beside the body of him who had been their master. I was present. Besides the over-excitabile Jew, Paule Arene, there were Jean Aicard, Emile Blemont and a few others who shared the vigil. They installed themselves around the bed where lay at rest the remains of the mighty inventor of rhythms and metaphors. For about an hour the disciples remained respectfully silent, but in the next hour they began to chat with one another. This was natural enough. Indeed, unless you pray, and if you believe that life ends with the last breath, the last heart-beat, it is difficult to sit and twiddle your thumbs silently throughout such a session. Death without the ministrations of the Church is without dignity. It becomes a purely administrative function, a sum in mathematical physiology, a subtraction in terms of the flesh. So-and-so existed; he exists no longer. No longer. That leaves one man less on earth. Whose turn comes next? Mendes began, in a low voice, but speaking very carefully—he had already had a couple of absinthes or vermouths—to tell stories about black magic, about dead people who suddenly came to life and talked, about communications from beyond the grave. 'Ah, but listen to what happened next! The curious thing was that the same woman in the same white dress appeared to Richard Wagner a few years later. She had in her hand the same portrait. Villiers de l'Isle-Adam saw her, too. Now, isn't that really very wonderful?' Emile Blemont listened and wept. Aicard, who was becoming more and more gloomy, and more and more worn out, looked at himself looking at Hugo and compared the two* * * *

"At this moment Lockroy appeared again. He had resumed his mournful air, and nodded his head sorrowfully. He was accompanied by Leopold Hugo, shy and gentle, with his vast forehead and his large eyes, looking more than ever like his 'dear uncle' thirty years before. The poet's nephew had with him an easel, a canvas and a box of paints. He announced that he was going to paint a portrait of the deceased. He added, with a troubled air, 'Unfortunately I have no gold powder, so I shall leave the laurel wreath in white.' He settled himself at the foot of the bed, whence the old man's countenance was to be seen full face, and began, most attentively, to paint the picture. What appeared on the canvas was altogether frightful. It was a sort of shrivelled image of Julius Caesar, that had not the slightest resemblance to the 'dear uncle.'

Lockroy, his hands in his pockets, stared ironically at this insane production. Finally, the ordeal proved more than the poets could stand. One by one they rose and filed out to the staircase, leaving the too highly inspired artist alone with his model.

"On the Place de l'Etoile, two nights later, the profanation became still greater. The catafalque had been placed under the arch itself, and was guarded by detachments of cavalry and police. The hall in the interior of one of the pillars had been reserved for the family.

"At last the day of the funeral arrived. It was clear and warm. The first series of speeches was delivered at the Place de l'Etoile, before the body was placed on the hearse. Charles Floquet, looking like a lawyer's clerk who tries to resemble Mirabeau and Robespierre simultaneously, posed pretentiously on the speaker's stand. The only man who struck the proper note was Emile Augier, very 'upper middle class.' He stood up very straight, and announced in resounding tones: This is not a— (I forget what); this is a day of consecration. Then the band of the Garde Republicaine attacked Chopin's Funeral March, the least beautiful, the most theatrical, of all such compositions. Slowly the immense procession got under way behind that pauper's hearse which the millionaire poet had ostentatiously insisted upon having. Immediately behind came Georges Hugo, walking by himself. Back of him crowded in confusion the intimate friends of the family, persons who were in the habit of going to Hugo's house, . . . government officials, cabinet ministers, poets, writers and journalists. Delegations from various societies closed the procession. Some of these were very strange indeed, carrying banners with curious inscriptions mostly of Masonic origin, and representing groups of free thinkers in Paris and the suburbs. Hugo had declared in his bombastic will that while he 'rejected the orisons of all the churches, he implored the prayers of all mankind.' Included, presumably, among the latter, were the representatives of a hilarious dinner-club, known as the *Beni-Bouffe Toujours* who made their first appearance on this occasion and aroused much mirth. Not only did the crowds pack the sidewalks, but the windows were crammed as well, and there were spectators perched on the roofs of the houses all along the line of march. The various celebrities came in for special attention. There was Nacquet, the politician famous for his law on divorce, like an obscene spider, hump-backed and hirsute, with crablike gait. He leaned on the arm of his faithful Luckroy. There were Sar Pelletain, the author and Rosierucian, with his ochre-colored skin, shirtless and dirty, but wearing a shabby frock coat; Claretie,

with his nose at half mast; and all the rest. The members of the Académie Française, some of them in their green uniforms, attracted amused interest, for the lower classes considered them to be especially learned...

At the Pantheon there were speeches that were even more insignificant than those which had been delivered at the Arch of Triumph. Some of them were utterly absurd. Afterwards, to the strains of the very mediocre *Hymne à Victor Hugo*, by Saint Saens, the remains of the poet were finally borne to their last resting place, a chilly crypt where fame is symbolized by an echo which the caretaker calls upon you to admire. This cellar is a storage closet for republican and revolutionary celebrities who have served their turn. It is cold down there even in summer, and the hand, holding a torch, which emerges from the tomb of Jean-Jacques Rousseau seems like a piece of grisly humour, as though the author of *Les Confessions* were trying forever, and unsuccessfully, to give light to the writer of *Les Misérables*."

Daudet's *Memoirs* are not concerned alone with literary reminiscences. Personal opinion intrudes throughout the book, and it is interesting opinion, and strangely unusual because Daudet is a royalist in an age of democracy. He is a politician and an independent thinker, startlingly different from the ordinary man-of-opinion.* He has no use for German thought and culture and in one section of the book he speaks out plainly against Kant:

"Alphonse Daudet was right when he maintained that German metaphysics played an important part in the crippling of French intelligence between 1880 and 1895. Those were fifteen years of what our neighbours would call *sturm und drang*. All the more strange is it that this infiltration was encouraged as a form of patriotism. We were informed that it was necessary—indeed, absolutely essential—to know intimately the race that had conquered us, to submit to those forms of mental discipline from across the Rhine that contained, according to Burdeau and the others, the secret of their recent successes.

"The result of this forced diet of evolutionist and Kantian doctrines, stuffed down our throats by a politician disguised as an apostle (and whom we admired), was moral and mental anarchy. *The Unconscious Self*, by Hartmann, and the works of Schopenhauer, which we eagerly read and discussed, combined with Kant to overcome our national common sense and those traditions of method and moderation which we had inherited from our forebears. Our attack of 'inflammation of the brain,' as Renan has called it, detached us from all forms of religious belief and the sham

patriotism of Burdeau did not compensate us for what we had lost. The years have not effaced the painful memory of this invasion of my mind by Germanic fallacies.....I declare my opinion deliberately, here and now, that the doctrines of Kant are a poison to the French brain. They benumb it and paralyze it. Every French father who desires to pass on the torch of his race to his sons in the most favorable conditions, should shield them from these doctrines. He should not let his sons remain ignorant of them, but he should point out the poison they contain."

These two examples, the one of a literary nature and the other in the nature of personal opinion, illustrate well the text of the entire book. The *Memoirs* are a series of pictures illumined in themselves, but added to with opinion and comment. Leon Daudet has been a traveller on many of life's highways and byways, he has gone into many remote and unexpected corners, he has been present at the lifting of the veil before many an unusual scene, and has witnessed the drop of the curtain upon others, he has known and mingled with persons whose names are hearsay only for the average person.....all these are spread before the reader upon the canvas of *Memoirs*. Daudet offends taste occasionally. He refers to the Tolstoyists and Ibsenites, and says that the Nietzschean doctrine of force "kept them, for a little while, away from theories of non-resistance and the contemplation of their own navels," but it is through such expressions that we see the biographer and feel the force of his opinion. He says of Ibsen's plays that all the characters are the victims of Fate. "Devoured by doubt, they seek some means of escape, through a door, out of a window, off the top of the roof, over a precipice, anywhere so long as they can get away from themselves," and he would gladly sacrifice the entire literature of Ibsen, which he calls a literature of "gloom and needless suffering," for a single line of *Othello*. Daudet is majestic in his opinions.

Throughout he preserves a respect for his egoism, he arouses in the reader not a little tinge of envy, holding up the mirror for the passer-by in which he may find his hopes, and he enthral. Not a single line is uninteresting, not a page is turned without the creation of a desire for a second reading. Perhaps the classic biographer of *Agésilas* would have ventured less in expressing his opinion: perhaps other writers of *Memoirs* have been less bold, but self-effacement is not required in *Memoirs*. It is a requirement of very little place in modern literature.

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

PRINCIPLES OF RAILWAY RATES-MAKING

Railways, whether owned by the State or by private companies, are business concerns and as such, whether they are earning dividends for the shareholders or money for the public treasury, they are commercial undertakings of gigantic magnitude.

While railroad transportation is a science, railway rates-making is an art, but in these days of high working expenses the railway rates-makers cannot afford to make rates which do not cover the cost of transportation, interest on capital, outlay, etc. It is, therefore, essential that the science of railroad transportation should also be closely studied by the railway rates managers, particularly the operative statistics and their effect on costs.

It is the business of the railway rates manager to see that the railway, to which he belongs, is fully occupied in carrying traffic at rates with a reasonable margin of profit. Now to come to the principles of rates-making—

Although a small country has often a brisk trade, a large country like India has her own advantages. A large area, with vast agricultural and mineral productions, give greater facilities for development of industries in which concentrated specialisation is a marked feature. In India, distances are great, and there are several ports mainly catering for foreign trade, but these ports are at the same time centres of great industrial and commercial activities. When two or more ports are competing for any one territory, the port, which has better facilities and lower cost of transport, will increase its trade. This remark applies equally to trade centres other than at ports. Coal, iron or steel goods from a great producing centre extend rapidly, under the influence of reduced railway rates, until the railway rates approach closely

those of rival centres. One great factor to be taken into account, in connection with the expansion of trade through the help of the railways, is that if there be an increased supply, either due to the opening out of new coal-fields or of new industries or of new agricultural districts being tapped, the prices will go down both immediately and ultimately if the demand remains constant, but this is not likely to lead to expansion of traffic to any appreciable extent. Therefore, an increase in the distances, for which goods can be carried, so as to place the goods within the reach of a wider range of customers, becomes essential, but an increase in distances can hardly take place unless the cost of transport is appreciably cheapened. Thus the distance and mileage factor in connection with railway rates is important, but has to be looked at from two different aspects. One aspect is that an increase in the distance is necessary in order to reach a wider range of customers. The other aspect is that with the increase in distances the cost of transportation must not so go up as to increase the prices more than what the consumers, at long distances from places of supply, can pay, or are paying for productions from old sources of supply. Whereas, on the one hand, the cost of carriage of traffic has to be lowered, on the other hand, the railway rates per unit mile must go down with the increase in distances for which the goods are to be hauled. In this connection, the old sliding scales of rates, which were at one time extensively used on the G. I. P. Railway, were very useful in that the same lump sum rate used to apply for a length of 150 miles or more after the traffic had been carried for distances of say more than 300 or 400 miles. Every railway in the beginning tried uniform rates of charges based on so much per ton per mile or per maund per mile, but the varying traffic conditions in various parts broke up the simplicity of the original method because allowances had to be made for water competition, for the needs of new industries, for competition with roads or with the

routes of other railways, for special rates in favour of export and import trade, mainly owing to competition between the various ports of the country. In the early stage of railways in India, the traffic of each railway was free from competition from other railways, although each railway had to meet competition with other methods of transport, such as country boats, bullock carts, etc. In the next stage, the railways were connected with one another and offered alternative routes or served the same territories or rival ports, so there was both direct and indirect competition. But at no time, the railways of India were allowed to continue wasteful competition for any length of time. The Government soon laid down minimum limits. It is true that the railway rates, in the main, should be fixed on the principle of "what the traffic will bear," but with any increase in the cost of transportation, the factor as to what it will cost the railway to carry the traffic, cannot be altogether disregarded. It is, however, also true that the increased cost of transportation is due to the same causes, which raise the prices of other commodities that form everyday requirement of the people, *e.g.*, increased cost of labour, of food stuffs and of raw materials for manufacture, due mainly to the increased cost of living. But the first and foremost point to be borne in mind in this connection is that the factor of high cost of living is world-wide, and this is mainly so because with the unification of the world by means of railways and steamships there has been equalization of prices, which means that nowhere the supply is now in abundance, as used to be the case when each locality was more or less dependent upon its local supply. At the Fifth International Congress of the Chambers of Commerce and Industrial Associations, held at Boston during September and October, 1912, Professor Irving Fisher of the Yale University said as follows :—

"Less than a generation ago the whole world was complaining of a prolonged fall in prices ; now it is complaining of a prolonged rise in

prices. Then the cry was depression of trade; now the cry is high cost of living."

In India, however, the rise in prices for nearly a quarter of a century has been somewhat continuous, although the prices started rising high from about some fifteen years ago. India to-day is passing through depression of trade without any drop in the high cost of living. India is, so far mainly, an agricultural country, and its agriculture except in certain parts of the Punjab and in Sindh, and in some other tracts where there are irrigation canals, is again almost entirely dependent on rains. With two or three good years for crops the prices remain at what must be called normal figures now-a-days, but even if there is no failure of crops in India and there is a shortage of supplies in Europe from other parts of the world, the prices go up and our railway traffic also increases in grain, oilseeds, cotton, jute or in any other commodity for which there may be a demand abroad. The development of *internal traffic* in India has been during later years, not very slow, taking all things into account although it cannot be said to be rapid. Grain moves from North to South, cotton moves to the cotton-milling centres situated at long distances, oilseeds move to oil mills far away from places where the seeds grow, and the richer districts, which were formerly growing cheap foodstuff along with more paying crops, are now growing mostly the more paying crops and are importing cheaper foodstuffs. This creates a certain amount of internal traffic, even for long distances (which may be called inter-provincial traffic). Such traffic requires low railway rates and will have (in fact it even now has) in some places to face strong steamer competition along the coast. Development of such traffic requires special treatment and special rates, and cannot be brought under any hard and fast rule of rates-making. In some cases such traffic may be expensive to carry owing to the fact that the wagons carrying

traffic in one direction might have to return empty on the other for long distances.

India, as has already been said, is a large country but it is not in the same position as regards trade and industries as for instance the United States—another large country. The United States, though a new country, is leading in industrial development, whereas India, though one of the oldest countries, is yet young as regards industries on modern lines. It is said that in America, the growth of agriculture, of its industries, and of specialised industries in particular, has been rather rapid.

“It is claimed that the drift of America’s industry towards massive multiform standardization is, associated both as to its cause and its effect with their widespread geographical distribution and also with the special feature of her great railway service.”

It is also remarked that the vast goods traffic of American Railways is in some measure the cause, and in some measure the result, of the line which has been taken by America’s industrial leadership, because her railways are chiefly concerned with carrying large consignments for long distances and, that the Americans have developed that traffic with special energy. Because their charges for long distances and of large consignments were very low, therefore, the giant businesses, who send large consignments to distant places, obtained the full advantage of their special economies and thus have standardised productions in many varieties. This has led to economy of sending large trainloads to great centres like Chicago and many other places. And this has again resulted in rates being quoted to “basing points,” which means that the charge for the basing point which is a big trade or industrial centre, is low, and if the traffic is carried to any point in the neighbourhood of a base it is made up of the low rates to the basing point, plus the ordinary rate from the base to the station of delivery. In India, the rates

have been law, and combination of special rates with ordinary rates and application of low special rates quoted for ports or trade centres for places short of the ports or trade centres have been in force. It is to be borne in mind that to-day in the United States by far the major portion of the large consignments that are carried for long distances consist of internal commerce, and, before this internal development, the transport of agricultural produce to the Atlantic and Mexican Gulf on its way to Europe accounted for the great mass of the railway traffic in trainloads. In India, before the war, and during a period of nearly 20 years preceding the great war, during which railways of India enjoyed prosperity, the greatest amount of traffic of Indian Railways was mainly in the export trade of produce to the ports (*viz.*, grain, oil seeds, cotton, jute), and in coal carried mostly internally, and also for export out of India, as well as in imports of kerosine oil, salt, sugar, iron goods, piece goods, machinery. The internal trade was in the carriage of country sugar, grain, cotton for the mills, oil seeds for local crushing, flour, etc., and in salt produced in India. And during the said period of 20 years, as the result of competition between railways, due particularly to opening up of new railways, new routes, and alternative routes, the railway rates were quoted on a low basis. But during the war, and some time after the war, the railway expenses went up (in fact, they were already shewing tendencies of going up for some little time even before the war). The general rise in prices resulted in workmen and employees demanding greater wages; so this factor and the high cost of fuel and materials, particularly owing to the scarcity of materials during the war and for some time thereafter, raised the railway expenses. Further, owing to repairs being unavoidably neglected during and after the war, the cost of rehabilitation of Indian railways has been somewhat great, and therefore compared with the expansion of traffic the increase in the capital expenditure may have been high. All these required that the railway rates

should be commensurate with the rise in expenses. It is, however, true that in the past two or three years the railway expenditure has again shewn the tendency of going down, but very slowly yet. So long as trade depression lasts, and the traffic does not increase in huge proportions, there cannot be much drop in the cost of working. Yet, on the other hand, people require, not unnaturally, cheap travelling and greater comfort, and the merchants and traders want low rates for the commodities they trade in, because the profits in trade are said to be small and the trade is restricted. Further, the traders not only want to have a reasonable margin of profit but are anxious to expand their business as well, and almost the same remarks apply to the business of railways. The railways of India, in particular, have a large debt account and they have, therefore, not only to provide for working expenses and the interest on borrowed capital but have also to take into account the cost of depreciation, so as to avoid further large borrowings when time comes for renewals and heavy repairs, and are required to have a depreciation fund. Moreover, the capital outlay of the old companies in respect of the railways purchased by the State is being redeemed, and funds in the way of sinking funds have also to be created to repay the later debts. Under all these circumstances, the railway rates cannot always be based entirely on the principle of "what the traffic will bear" although this must be the guiding principle. It is fully accepted that with the expansion of trade the cost of working will go down if in carrying the traffic economic methods of working are applied. In introducing economic methods of working the chief factors are (a) to so load the wagons as to get as near as possible the fullest amount of traffic that they can carry, (b) to take advantage of full trainloads, and of through trains, and also, if possible, (c) to develop traffic in the direction and between points in which empty wagons are moving. But all these cannot be easily attained, particularly the last one. All

that one can, therefore, do is to do his best to come as near to these results as possible, and, for all these purposes, a close co-operation between the commercial and transportation departments is essential. Whereas the commercial department should always be ready with recent (at least yearly) statistics of traffic movements in various important commodities between any two pairs of stations or any two groups of stations and should also have statistics of traffic in various commodities moving in different zones such as from 1 to 75 miles, 76 to 150 miles, 151 to 250 miles and so on, as well as up and down, traffic statistics of this nature being separately kept up, the transportation department should have operative statistics of all kinds shewing the work done and the expenditure incurred per each unit of operation for each section of a railway; and the two departments of Commercial and Operation should freely exchange statistics and discuss details with a view to improve the railway business, particularly from and to the direction in which economic working can be attained. A railway rates manager, in the absence of revenue statistics of a detailed nature as herein mentioned, is helpless in the matter of enquiring into and devising means for developing business of the railway.

After all the consumer pays all the cost, which includes the price of transportation, and this latter is a part of the total price of a commodity. The cost of transportation should not ordinarily be such as to raise prices to high levels, but, at the same time, one has to consider whether the traffic in question can be carried with any margin of gain to the railway, though the gain may be a small one per unit, and a big volume of traffic giving regular and good trainloads, or traffic which fills up empty trains or wagons, is worth having, even at a small gain, because a low nett gain per unit, repeated several times, gives a large aggregate nett revenue in the long run. It is; however, certainly not worthwhile for railways, if taken as business

concerns, to have traffic at non-paying rates unless in the case of a temporary fostering rate. Indian railways cater largely for agricultural productions and coal and her industries are growing up, though slowly. Failures of many new industries, which were the outcome of the ventures after the war, have made people cautious in putting money in any new industrial concerns and this is rather disappointing to the Indian Railways. The growth of industries along a line of railway, though involving sometimes a certain amount of capital expenditure on account of sidings and other facilities required by such industries, has the tendency to increase the nett earnings of a railway, because such industries not only help and increase the goods traffic but the passenger traffic as well. In the matter of goods traffic, raw materials, fuel, machinery, building materials have all to be carried to the mills, factories, etc., and to the mill sites and the finished products and bye-products are carried from the mills, works and factories. This gives wagon loads in both directions, thus minimising empty running. As regards passenger traffic developing through industries, it is mainly due to imported labour or to local labourers travelling to and from great industrial centres by suburban trains every day. In order to remove trade depression the industries want cheap rates not only for the raw produce but for their finished products and coal, and thus, for instance, flour mills may want cheap rates for wheat and low rates for flour, and a railway manager has to take all sides of a case and various conflicting interests into account.

“It has been observed that it is obviously to the general interests that sources of supply should grow up as near as possible to centres of consumption.”

If this were accepted, then, for instance, Bombay and Bengal should have their flour mills near to places of consumption, *i.e.*, the flour mills should be in Bengal and in

Bombay. Whereas, on the other hand, if it is held that the sources of supply of raw materials for the manufacture of flour and oil are to be near to places of manufacture then flour mills and oil mills should be in the Punjab, in the U. P. and in Behar; and in the same way cotton mills had better be in the Berars and in the interiors of Guzerat rather than in Bombay, and far less in Calcutta. If this be so, then the railway will be concerned in carrying raw materials for short distances and the finished products for long distances, but the true policy in general public interests would be to encourage manufacturing centres both near and far away from the raw material-producing centres, because then it would give all a chance and stimulate healthy competition; at some places, the nearness to the coal fields or to the important consuming centres or to the sea board might, counteract the disadvantages of distances from raw material-producing centres provided that the railways also help. The Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States of America has maintained that on principle "each locality is entitled to the benefit of all its natural advantage." For instance, the Interstate Commerce Commission do not want to allow such claims as that of say Boston for rates to and from the west approximately equal to those of other ports which have shorter connections with the West. The interests of a particular railway concerned to favour a certain locality can always be ably advocated, as well as the interests of certain particular localities or particular groups of traders or producers, but if the general interests of several railways as a whole or the general interests of the country on a large scale have to be taken into account then it will be difficult in many cases to establish the claims of particular interests. For instance, we have seen in India that the Government had to decline to entertain the claims of the Calcutta Railways for special reduced rates to the Calcutta Port for wheat and other grains and for oil seeds from the

Punjab, U.P., and C.P., for shipment to Europe. At the time this claim was advocated, the working expenses of the Bengal Railways, *i.e.*, the E. I. Railway and the B. N. Railway, particularly of the former, were considerably less than those of other Indian Railways, and it was argued on the ground of low working expenses that the E. I. Railway should be allowed cheaper scales of rates lower than the minima rates laid down by the Government for all Indian trunk railways for the carriage of grain and seeds. Or, in other words, it was asked that an exception should be made in the case of the E. I. and the B. N. Railways. This would have meant sacrifice of natural geographical advantages of the Western Ports of Bombay and Kurachee. On the other hand, Calcutta Railways, urged at the time that the cheaper cost of working of the E. I. Railway, due to flatness of the country traversed rendering gradients easy, cheaper labour, and, above all, cheap cost of fuel and the heavy density of traffic over which the cost was distributed, entitled the E. I. Ry. to charge lower rates, particularly because the grain and seeds traffic diverted from the Western Ports to Calcutta would have meant loads for at least some of the empty wagons that came back to Bengal after discharging coal. But it was not many years afterwards that the wisdom of the decision of the Government of India in not allowing the claim of the E. I. Railway was realised because to-day there does not exist that marked difference between the working expenses of the Calcutta and of the Western Lines which was so prominent before the War. Although any wholesale change in the policy of general revision of the minimum rate limit for a particular railway, to enable it to draw traffic by a longer route, to ultimate destination, or to minimise empty running of wagons over a railway, and to allow it to earn more profit by diverting traffic from a shorter and quicker route of transport, and thus depriving the latter of its natural geographical position, may not be considered desirable, it has, nevertheless

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to be recognised that only harm arises from any check to the stimulus, which a locality or localities or an industry or industries or a port may derive from the pressure of healthy competition; but there is sufficient scope in India for healthy competition by the latitude given to railways between the maxima and minima rate limits prescribed by the Government. At one time, in U. S. A. it was found that there was a desire on the part of railroad managers not to charge more than what a weak district would bear, while it was held that there was no harm in charging the stronger districts nearly all that the latter could bear. It was, however, seen that such an arrangement, though bringing in high aggregate railway revenue, often resulted in several railways coming to an understanding between themselves, whereby they agreed to equalise the natural advantages of competing towns or centres by fixing rates in inverse ratio to the natural advantages. In India also such a thing was in force years ago, when under agreement between the E. I. R. and the B. B. & C. I. Ry. the grain and cotton rates from Delhi to Calcutta over a longer distance were allowed to be cheaper than the rates from Delhi to Bombay, a shorter distance, because Calcutta had the disadvantage of higher steamer freights to London as compared with cheaper freights from Bombay to Europe.

Not many years ago, it was held that the first and foremost object of railways should be to get traffic, and some Economists said that while ordinarily the maximum limit of a rate was "what the traffic could bear" the minimum limit was the cost of transport, but that in the case of competition the latter or the minimum limit disappeared.

In India, however, the minimum limit has always been kept. In fixing up or in revising the railway rates in India at the present moment, say for the development of internal commerce and trade for long distances, tapering scales of rates applying on through distances over two or more railways seem somewhat essential so long as this does not involve

much empty running of wagons in the reverse direction and loss in railway revenue on the whole. If the latter be the case then some part of the cost of return journey of wagons has to a certain extent to be taken into account in fixing up a rate. The development of internal traffic in India would come in with the natural course of events, because one of the greatest factors noticed during recent years has been that there has been more demand for wheat, grain and other commodities in the country itself, both provincially and inter-provincially, and for raw materials for local manufactures. To give stimulus to such traffic the present rates should be examined by review of traffic in various zones, with a view to ascertain in which zones the traffic is stagnant and whether beyond a certain limit the traffic commences to have a big drop, and then all this can form the basis for the consideration of what reductions are necessary and as to how this could be effected in the required zones, without very much altering the rates in the zones where reductions are not needed. A combination of both telescopic and sliding rates in the same schedule, the former for the shorter and the latter for the longer leads, will be useful.

Next to come to operative expenses. Alfred Marshall in his book *Industry and Trade* (1923 edition), remarked as follows on the question of the cost of operating each traffic:—

“In particular, there is almost universal agreement that railway charges cannot be adjusted to particular costs; and that they should not be so adjusted, even if they could. But questions relating to absolute and relative costs continually arise very often on the initiative of the railways themselves and organised knowledge, based on systematic studies, is rendering it ever more possible to make fairly confident, though carefully limited, statements in regard to them. The Interstate Commerce Commission often sets up independent investigations, when railway representatives defend rates, that have been impugned, by arguments based on cost of service. Such cases are apt to occur, (1) where any special service is performed and obligation incurred by a carrier; (2) where a rate complained of is judged as to its reasonableness by

comparing the ascertainable costs of transportation of other commodities whose rates are believed to be reasonable; (3) where comparison is made with cost on other roads or on other parts of the system; and (4) where comparison is made between rates for carload lots and for smaller lots. In particular the Commission insists generally that in the fixing of relative rates on articles strictly competitive, such a relative rate should be fixed for each as corresponds to the difference in cost of service if that can be ascertained."

In considering the direct cost of goods traffic service it is remarked as follows in the same publication :—

"There is the consideration that goods traffic bears a closer resemblance to manufactures than passenger traffic does; because the carriage of goods, like the work of a factory, is only one link in a chain of production; whereas a passenger journey is, as a rule, complete in itself. Consequently, the immediate, though not the ultimate, interest in the freights charged for any kind of goods is generally concentrated in a relatively small number of people who trade in those goods as buyers and sellers. The producers and dealers who live in A are often deeply interested in the relation which the railway charges levied on the goods which they send to B bear to those levied on rival goods, which come from C or D. In fact, there is much truth in the saying of an experienced Railway Official, that when a trader of a locality complains that railway rates are too high, what is really meant, is that the rates charged to some competitive person or locality are too low. For, it has been already observed, neither producer nor trader is very much affected by a tax or any additional charge laid on him, provided that everybody else, who supplies the same market, is subject to the same burden: the main burden falls on the ultimate consumer, though the business of producer and trader may be a little curtailed."

"Accordingly railways in every country arrange that the charge for each consignment per ton per mile shall be greater for small consignments than for large and for small distances than for large: administrative economy requires the rates of charge to be grouped into several broad classes. The charges of each sort of goods are in some measure adjusted with general consent, to the average of the total consignments of them, which make same journey, and give scope for making up fairly full wagon loads if not train loads; and again to the costliness of any special wagons needed, and the ratio of their weight to their carrying power; and again

to the outlay and care needed for preventing depreciation of the goods and injury by the weather. Account may also be taken of the fact that wagons specialised for one sort of traffic are apt to be expensive to travel often empty one way and in some cases, to be idle during a great part of the year."

"To conclude:—A fairly old railway holding the greater part of the transport of a compact industrial district, is likely to have so completely adjusted its appliances to the traffic, that each of them is well occupied; and does its work so economically, that any addition to that work would have to carry nearly full costs. In such a case cost of service could automatically become the chief regulator of railway charges; and some American writers are inclined to think that, ere many generations are past, railways will in their own interest cease to concern themselves much about the various values of their services to particular classes of traffic but will levy nearly the same charges for all services that make equal demand on their plant at equally busy seasons, and require equal direct or 'particular' costs."

From a theoretical point of view it may appear all right to charge to each service or to each consignment direct costs, together with a share, or rather a proportionate share, of the charges levied for similar service on the railway, and also with a share of the charges which are common to the whole railway. But this is not really practicable. Taking the question of rates quotations from a practical point of view the following observations may be worthwhile reading.

The practice of levying lower charges on goods that are carried in bulk and in large wagon loads and require cheap rates, because of the lesser price which they generally fetch, is universal. But if, on the other hand, wheat and cotton were to be charged the same rates on a railway on the principle that the cost of transport was equally shared by both in proportion to ton mileage of each, and that this was fair owing to the fact that the cost of handling both kinds of traffic was the same, as both were carried in wagon loads, and sometimes in train loads over railways like

say the G. I. P. Railway, then it would mean that either wheat would have to be carried at very high average rates or cotton would have to be carried at much lower rates. It would seem unnecessary to charge, for instance, cotton very low rates when the price of transport, even at fairly high rates, bears a small relation to the total price paid for cotton, as such a procedure would mean heavy and uncalled for loss to the railway, without benefitting the producers, or even the consumers, because the fluctuation in the price of cotton from week to week is sometimes greater than the total railway freight paid on it. On the other hand, to charge high rates on wheat would mean that such commodities would not be carried at all, at least for any appreciable length of distance, and it would not be conducive to the public interests in general to raise the price of foodstuffs considerably.

In the matter of railway charges in relation to cost: First and foremost, come the Railway Terminal charges. They vary, or at least should vary, and they are required to be reasonable. There are cases of small consignments which sometimes require double or triple handling at terminals as compared with say minerals, which are handled by the owners. Then certain traffic requires special care in the way of protection from weather or from fire. The terminal charges ought to be independent of the distances to be travelled; and there should be separate terminals for the forwarding and for receiving stations. Any compensation over and above the terminals and the maximum rates in the way of short distance charge is not a charge to be treated as a terminal and cannot be justified. Then there should be differentiation between charges for receiving and stacking goods in the railway godowns, prior to despatch, and the charges for loading and unloading of goods and for cranes and other appliances or for special shunting operations.

Then comes the most important item, *viz.*, the charge for moving the traffic. There should be different charges for

small lots and for large lots because it is certain that full truck loads can be sent through quick to their destination, whereas small consignments are often carried in partly empty wagons which go to increase dead weight of trains. Further, if large consignments of full truck loads can be had for long distances the charges beyond a certain distance ought to be lower per unit mile, not only to stimulate the traffic for long distances and to bring the same within the reach of a wider range of customers but also, in order to give such traffic some advantage of the quick turning round of wagons which they effect because they can get through much quicker. Then comes the relation of one traffic to another; this is an intricate problem and requires careful study in each case. For instance, what is jute traffic to the E. B. Railway, the cotton traffic is to the B. B. & C. I. and G. I. P. Railways. It has been seen that in the case of jute traffic on the E. B. Railway 41% of the railway earnings derived from the goods traffic of the E. B. Railway is from jute, whereas the weight of such traffic carried is 21% only of the total goods traffic, and during the last few years the railway rates for jute have gone up very considerably by say 40 to 50% in the case of special rates to Calcutta and to the jute mills, besides a rise in the classification. Whereas the jute trade may consider such an enhancement in the rate unfair compared to what other traffic pays, and may point out that for 21% of weight they are paying 41% of freight, the railway can reasonably say that in the case of jute traffic the cost of handling is comparatively high, dead weight to trains is greater, risks of fire are more and that these factors justify high rates; above all railways may contend that the high price paid on jute and the market fluctuations that take place would not make any difference in the price of the commodity even if the railway rates were reduced to their former levels but this comes back to the principle of "what the traffic will bear." Whereas on the one hand reversion to the old rates and classification

would mean a loss of Rs. 30,00,000 to Rs. 40,00,000 in the least in railway earnings, which the railways would not be able to recoup, on the other hand the jute trade might not very wrongly complain that in 1914-15, 10 years ago, on identically the same amount of traffic they paid in the way of freight to the railway Rs. 55,00,000 against Rs. 1,25,00,000 they pay to-day (in 1923-24) and that the percentage of loaded wagons to empty wagons on the E. B. Railway was not unsatisfactory compared to what other railways, which carry similarly bulky traffic, had and that the wagon load of the broad gauge section of the E. B. Railway was less by one ton only than that of the B. B. & C. I. Railway, which has a large revenue from textile cotton against the E. B. Railway's large revenue from textile jute. The jute traders may very rightly say that they are not only enabling the E. B. Ry to give cheaper rates for other goods traffic than jute but are also paying for reduced passenger fares. The high rates on jute enable the Railway to make reductions in other directions; this is true and cannot be denied. The Railways may, however, say that in a case like this, public good on the whole has to be considered. Whereas the jute trade can perhaps not very unreasonably complain of very high rates the railways can point out that the increase in railway rates has not been out of proportion to the increase in the working expenses. The rise in the jute rates vary from 38 to 50% so far as the special rates for pressed and drummed jute are concerned for the mills and to Calcutta, apart from the heavy rise in the classification of jute generally. The working expenses have gone up by 39% to 50% for metre and broad gauge respectively since 1914-15, including interest on capital outlay at $5\frac{1}{2}\%$. This being so if jute rates are reduced the railway side of the case will be that it will not be a good policy to do so, for this reduction would not benefit the agriculturists and it is the demand that control the prices, which are independent of the railway freight,

but that the reduction will mean large sacrifices of public revenue, and thus the power of the railway not only to extend its traffic facilities but to make contributions to the public treasury will be reduced, and also the reduction would have adverse effect on other traffic such as grain, etc., because the reduction in the railway revenue of Rs. 30,00,000 to Rs. 40,00,000 a year may necessitate the increase of other rates perhaps for cheaper commodities like grain, coal, which cannot bear high rates. At any rate, even if there be no immediate enhancement in the latter rates the power of the railways to reduce the present rates for grain, or coal, which may require cheaper rates more particularly than jute or passenger fares, would be taken away and the question is whether this would be in the interests of general good. Similar remarks apply to cotton traffic of the G. I. P. if a reduction in cotton rates is called for. But all this comes back to the same, factor, *i.e.*, the principle of charging remains the same, *viz.*, "what the traffic will bear," for on the principle of relative cost of transport the jute and cotton rates can be asked to be brought down as they certainly enable railways to maintain the present rates on other traffic and have enabled them to reduce passenger fares. Unless for high rates for cotton and jute it would not have been possible for either the G. I. P. or the E. B. Ry. to reduce passenger fares. As regards commodities like grain which are very much in demand by the public any reduction in the rate will undoubtedly reduce the prices, thereby benefiting the consumers as well as the producers, and any reduction in the rate that goes to increase the business will also benefit the railways in the long run by distributing the cost of operation between a larger number of units, subject of course to the proviso that the railway rates do not come down to such a figure as to leave no margin of profit after paying for working expenses or have the effect of reducing the existing nett profit. Or in other words, the railway rates should be such that the direct cost of carrying

grain traffic per train and per wagon are first covered, in addition to the interest and other charges, that has to be paid on the total railway capital. For all this calculation, it will be more simple to first ascertain the total earnings of a railway; and then to deduct from it the passenger earnings and the passenger traffic expenses, and then to further deduct out of the balance that remains, the total cost of carrying goods traffic, and then to see what proportion the grain traffic earnings bear to the total goods traffic earnings, and if any reduction in the grain rates brings down the total goods earnings to such an extent that the latter, combined with passenger earnings, and after deducting from the total of the two all expenses, do not cover the interest, depreciation and other charges then the reduction in rates would not be justified, unless it is definitely ascertained that by such reductions expansion of the business in grain is to considerably increase the nett gain in the end. Similar procedure has to be adopted in the case of coal or other traffic. Of course, any temporary fostering rates to develop a new industry, that is young, or in a locality where industrial development is needed, may be taken in the way of paternal sacrifice on the part of the railways, for the time being, in order to reap the benefit of the reduced rate in the near future, but when the industry develops the special railway rates should go up; at least, this must be the condition laid down when granting a low rate. For instance, abnormally low rates were granted by the B. N. Ry. to the Tata Iron and Steel Works but the point is whether when this industry was flourishing a few years ago the reduced rate was at all needed. The question whether a rate creates undue preference or not or whether it is high is more a case of facts than of law. So long as it can be proved that the rates are not in any way prejudicing the interests of any other concern, or are achieving a greater amount of general good, or if the special rates in question help to break the monopoly then

it would be unwise to restrict free quotation of rates within maxima and minima limits, so long as the complainant cannot prove that the railways have unduly given preference to any particular locality or a concern. Mere comparison of rates of one railway with those of another railway for the same commodity without taking into account the particular traffic, working and local conditions that prevail in different localities, could not be a reasonable ground to call a rate an unreasonable rate nor would it be a good public policy; for that would restrict the power of the railway to grant favourable rates where circumstances require them, such as fostering rates to new industry or to an unfavourably situated locality or to centres with large business, engaged in mass production and thus giving railways traffic in full train and wagon loads. Or if favourable rates that are quoted to meet water competition or to develop new industry in the hope of eventually increasing the business or to stimulate larger cultivation in a particular area, which is backward, are used as levers to reduce rates at places where similar conditions do not prevail or, in other words, if wholesale reduction is asked for on the example of certain special rates granted under certain particular conditions then the railways will be reluctant to grant specially favoured rates when particular conditions make them essential. This will be opposed to the interests of public good. Therefore, any rigid law or regulation that for distance for distance the charges should not be higher or that rates for long distances should not be lower than for short distance, irrespective of different conditions, cannot produce any real good result. Rates-making should be left to experts. They should be able to justify the rates when called upon to do so, and when any particular industry or locality or concern is said to be unduly favoured by the railways they should be able to show that this is not so and there should be evidence to prove this. And in every case when any particular interest is or interests are prejudiced by the action of railways, the

railways should be able to show amongst other things that a greater public good was intended to be achieved in taking recourse to particular actions, and that every possible endeavour was made to avoid the discrimination complained of but that this was not possible without loss of revenue which was not called for in public interests, or without causing further discriminations.

S. C. GHOSE

INCONSISTENCY

The heart that is so lone and low
Has heavings heaven-high,
The earth that smiles in morrning-glow
Has the tempest's passionate sigh.

The stream that feeds with coolest life
The fields with harvest piled,
It would be rocked to restful strife
On the ocean's bosom wild !

Our breaths are tuned with humble tasks
In peaceful rise and fall,
Even they, like gales that wear cloud-masks,
Lead forth Destruction's call.

And nearest to the sun doth mount
Snow frozen in frolic wild,
And million years his heartbeats count—
The wondrous human child.

NALINI MOHON CHATTERJEE

AN ISLAMIC VIEW OF HINDUISM

In the present state of feeling between the two most influential communities in India it is refreshing to pick up even small scraps of mutual understanding, especially in matters affecting religion. To the popular mind religious antagonism is the volcano, emitting destructive lava of communal hate, contention and strife.

One has to welcome with respect a paper entitled "Hinduism according to Muslim Sufis" read by Maulavi Abdul Wali Khan Sahib before the Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in its "Journal and Proceedings" for September, 1924.

The Khan Sahib in the introduction of his paper says :

"Many years ago, a Muhammadan scholar brought to light in a private conversation certain views of certain Muhammadan Sufi saints and divines about the Hindu religion, idolatry and scriptures, which appeared to me very strange. Years after, I was fortunate to consult him in his sick-bed, as to his sources, which I am glad I noted before he left the world. I have consulted since other works, and the result has confirmed the views of the deceased Maulavi."

The scholar referred to was Maulavi Rauf Ahmad, a son of the late Maulavi "Abdur-Rauf of Mauda Sarulia, Sub-Division Satkhira, District Khulna of Bengal. Rauf Ahmad died at the age of about 71 years on 3rd Zil-Qada 1335 H., Wednesday 10 A.M. (August 22, 1917 A.D.=6th Bhadra, 1324, B.S.)."

One of the sources indicated by the deceased scholar was an account of the life and teachings of a Sufi saint and divine bearing the respected title of Mirza Janjanaan Mazhar Shahid, literally meaning "the noble and saintly expression of the soul of soul." After a short statement relative to the ancestry of the saint and their intimacy with the Mogul Emperors, the

date of the saint's birth is stated to be A.D. 1701 and of his death A.D. 1781.

The Janjanan, in a letter of which the original Persian together with an English translation is given in the paper referred to, writes : " after inquiry and without partiality " as follows :

" It appears from the ancient books of the Indians that the Divine Mercy, in the beginning of the creation of the human species, sent a Book, named the Bed (Veda), which is in four parts, in order to regulate the duties of this as well as the next world, containing the news of the past and future, through an angel or divine spirit by the name of Bramha (Brahmā) who is omnipotent and outside the creation of the universe."

The above extract is in substantial agreement with the Vedic doctrine of revelation as found in the Svetasvatara Upanishat (VI, 18):—

" He who creates Brahma before (the creation of the world) and transmits to him all the Vedas."

In an uncreated world the Vedas can only be ideas and not writing of any kind.

It is to be noted that according to the Janjanan, Brahmā, the archangel of creation, received the revealed truth in the form of a book, in a manner similar to what is said about the Koran. On this difference between the Brahmanic and Islamic doctrines is based Ram Mohun Roy's dissent from the ordinary Islamic view. This will clearly appear from his "Tuhafat ul Muwabbhiddin, of which English translations are extant."

It will be of some interest to note that, according to Mrs. Adam, widow of Ram Mohun Roy's friend Dr. Adam, who was the first Unitarian Christian minister in Calcutta and at one time a Baptist missionary at Serampore in association with Carey and Marshman, the greatest crisis in Ram Mohun Roy's early religious life was the choice between Islam and his own ancestral faith. The position of women in Islam and the slaughter of animals in the name of God Himself and not,

as among Hindus of any personified Divine attribute, presented an impenetrable barrier to him. In 1887 Mrs. Adam, with her two daughters, both born in India, was living at Jamaica Plain, near Boston, U.S.A.

The Janjanan continues: "They (*i.e.*, Hindus) do not believe in the abrogation of (Divine) ordinances but according to our judgment there must needs be rules of conduct agreeable to the changed disposition of men and space."

The imperfect character of the information received by this Muslim saint is here apparent. Revealed or scriptural teaching has two aspects—one declares the truth concerning the nature of the Supreme Being and His relation to man and the universe while the other relates to the adjustment of practical life, collective and individual, to that truth. The former is unlimited in time. The manifestation of Divine Mercy through any individual is never the absolute first. The latter is a moving equilibrium, requiring constant adjustment to the changing conditions of human disposition and external environment. The Islamic doctrine of abrogation does and cannot touch the former. For in that case the recognition of other prophets would not have been reasonably possible. The super-temporal, eternal nature of the Supreme Being is untouched by oldness or newness, the products of time. While all teachings revealed by or through prophets, whether written down or not, must, in their practical aspect, require adjustment of the changing conditions of life to the spirit of such teachings, in disregard of their form; just as the same thought has to be expressed by different vocal elements or words in different languages to be of use to the hearer. This is represented in Hindu theology by the acceptance of Vedic teaching as unchanging, unaffected by external conditions while all other teachings, to be beneficial, must change in form for adaptation to conditions necessarily changeful. The idea is shortly summed up by Manu thus:—

"He alone, and no other man, knows the sacred laws

who explores the (utterances) of the sages and the body of the laws by (modes of) reasoning, not repugnant to the Vedas"—*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXV, p. 506.

The fashion of speech, adopted by some devotees, mentioned in Brahmanical Scriptures, of using the personal pronoun of the first person singular in respect of the Deity is a fruitful source of misunderstanding of Hinduism on the part of those professing other religions, specially Islam. This method of annihilating the value of self before God is explained in the "Brahma Sūtras" (L. 1, 30) as a scriptural fashion of speech. The fashion is obviously directed to the end that the individual self be denuded of value before the Supreme Being.

With this introduction may be cited the doctrine of the appearance of prophets as declared by Krishna:—

"O son of Bharata, whenever there is decline of righteousness and uprising of un-righteousness, then I project myself into creation. For the protection of the righteous and the destruction of the evil-doer, and for the proper establishment of the law of righteousness, I appear from age to age."—*Bhagavad Gita*, IV, 7-8.

It is here clear that what is changed by a prophet is the 'dharma' or rules of conduct he finds in existence in his surroundings but not the Divine teaching, which forms the foundation of all rules of conduct. In other words, the motive of action, remaining unaltered by what changes, is the true mark of giving expression to that motive. The above citation from the Bhagavad Gita clearly shows the existence of righteous men at the time of Krishna's advent.

As an example of the Jananjan's love of truth and clarity of vision the following may be cited:—

"All the schools (of the Hindus) unanimously believe in the unity of the most high God; consider the world to be created; believe in the destruction of the world; in the reward for good and bad conduct, on the resurrection and accountability (of conduct). They are far advanced in theoretical and transcribed sciences, in austerity, in religious endeavours.

They are eminent in searching after the sciences and revelations. Their wise men have divided the human span of life into four divisions : the first division for the acquisition of learning ; the second for the acquisition of the necessities of life and (begetting) children ; the third for correcting the conduct, and training of self ; the fourth for the exercise of seclusion and aloofness (from worldly affairs), which is the crown of human perfection, and the highest emancipation, called Maha-mukti, is dependent on it. The rules and regulations of their faith are fully and well arranged."

The actual practice of religion by the saint's Hindu contemporaries impells him to say :—

" So it is evident that it had been a good religion but abrogated. In Islamic *shar* no mention of any other abrogated religions, save Judaism and Christianity, is made whereas many other religions have undergone the process of obliteration and affirmation (*i.e.*, changes)."

After citing some verses from the Koran the saint continues :—

" According to the holy verse : 'Of whom (the prophets) we have mentioned some of them to you, and of whom we have not mentioned some to you,' the Islamic Law (*Shar*) is reticent as to most of the prophets. It is therefore preferable to keep silent regarding the prophets of India. Neither should we be confident enough to accuse them and their followers of unbelief and (relegate them to) perdition, nor are we bound to believe in their salvation. Our entertaining good opinion (regarding them) is proved, provided we look to the question free from prejudice."

It is interesting to note that the saint takes the refined and not the popular view of image worship in Hinduism :—

" No one should be called a Kafir or infidel without convincing evidence. The secret of their (Hindus) worshipping idol is this : There are certain angels who exercise power, by order of God, in the world of make and break ; also the souls of certain perfect individuals, after they have ceased to have connection with the body and who continue to exercise power in this world ; as also those who, in their (Hindu's) opinion, like *Khidr*, are ever alive—of these they make representations and concentrate their thoughts on them, and on account of this concentration, they attain, after a considerable time a suitableness or connection. (*munasibāt*) with the originals of the representations, and owing to this connection they attain

their wants of this as well as of the other world. This practice resembles to the Sufis of Islam meditating the form of their spiritual guides and getting grace out of it. The only difference is that outwardly the Sufis do not set up an effigy of their *Shaykhs* (Spiritual-guides). The matter has in no way any connection with the belief of the infidel "Arabs who used to say that their idols themselves were possessed of influence and effectiveness and were not a means of God's influence." They consider the idol to be terrestrial God, and Khudā-i-T'ala, the Celestial God. This is polytheism (shirk or setting a partner with God). The prostration of the Hindus is the prostration of greetings and not the adoration appertaining to Divine worship. This according to their custom they do to their fathers, mothers, priests and teachers which is in vogue instead of *salām* (salutation), which they call *dandwat*. And a belief in the transmigration of soul is not necessarily tantamount to *kufir* or polytheism."

It is somewhat curious that the saint was not informed of the internal worship of the *guru* by Vedantins generally and the phrase "*guru pāduka*," prevalent among other sects of Hindus, never reached the saint's ear. It hardly needs to be added that *guru pāduka* is taken to be the footwear of the preceptor, believed to be imprinted on the disciple's brain.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI.

THE ART COLLECTION OF MR. P. C. MANUK

Practically everybody interested in art and specially in the art of the Mughal period must have heard of the name of the Oriental Public Library, better known as the Khuda Bux Library, after the name of its illustrious founder, Khan Bahadur Khuda Bux, the father of Mr. S. Khuda Bux, the well-known scholar, but not so familiar is the huge and very rich art collection of Mr. P. C. Manuk, one of the leading Barristers of the Patna High Court, who has undoubtedly the best and the most representative collection, not only of the Mughal art of painting, but practically of every Indian school, Mughal, Rajput and Kangra, excepting the Bengal school, which according to Mr. Manuk is too reminiscent of Japanese art influenced by European methods. As such they do not appeal to this fortunate art collector, who deplores, and very strongly, the growing foreign influence which is creeping into the Bengal school. In the words of Mr. Manuk,

“I am too enthusiastic an admirer of what India has produced in the past to have much sympathy with the methods that suggest both Japan and Europe.”

We speak of Mr. Manuk, as a fortunate art collector for he has been indeed fortunate, nay very fortunate, in finding out his treasures. The actual sum which he has laid out hardly represents the value of his finds which must be some seven lakhs, but most of the finest pictures in his collection have not always been purchased and even when purchased have been secured at what would be a nominal cost, the dealer hardly having any definite idea about the monetary value. But the energy which this successful art collector has

displayed, has been more than what he has shown in his own field, *viz.*, law—for no place was too distant, no slum too dirty, no trouble too great for him. Lucknow and Agra, Delhi and Lahore, Bombay and Secunderabad—all have been taxed and tapped to augment his collection.

The Oriental Public Library, as I have said above, is extremely rich so far as the Mughal art is concerned. But Mr. Manuk also has a representative collection of this style—which was encouraged by Akbar “the Great Mogor,” whose grandfather Babar was a contemporary of the great Persian artist, Behizad (flourishing at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century). Here was the beginning of the Mughal School of Painting which had undoubtedly its origin in Persia and which was transplanted to India where it continued its healthy development but where it fell a victim to its new environment, absorbing Indian methods which were part of the traditional heritage of their Hindu colleagues. Mr. Manuk has explained the changes thus. Having to give expression to the art in them, the Persians developed the art of beautiful calligraphy to which their script so admirably lent itself. They next illuminated these and turned them into what may be called beautiful pictures. Next they left their stereotyped way and began to depict animal and human figures which, however, could not appeal to the soul. But the Hindu painters were able to do so, for their gods and goddesses being to them real beings assumed traditional shapes and forms. So far, however, as the painting of portraits was concerned, the Muslim artists were as successful as their Hindu colleagues, for by the accuracy of their line drawing without the subtleties of shading, they could give such expression to figure and face that the subject's character was exposed for all to see, just as it could be described in words. The development continued during the days of Jehangir and Saha Jehan, but decadence commenced with Aurangzib, though Mr. Manuk has been the

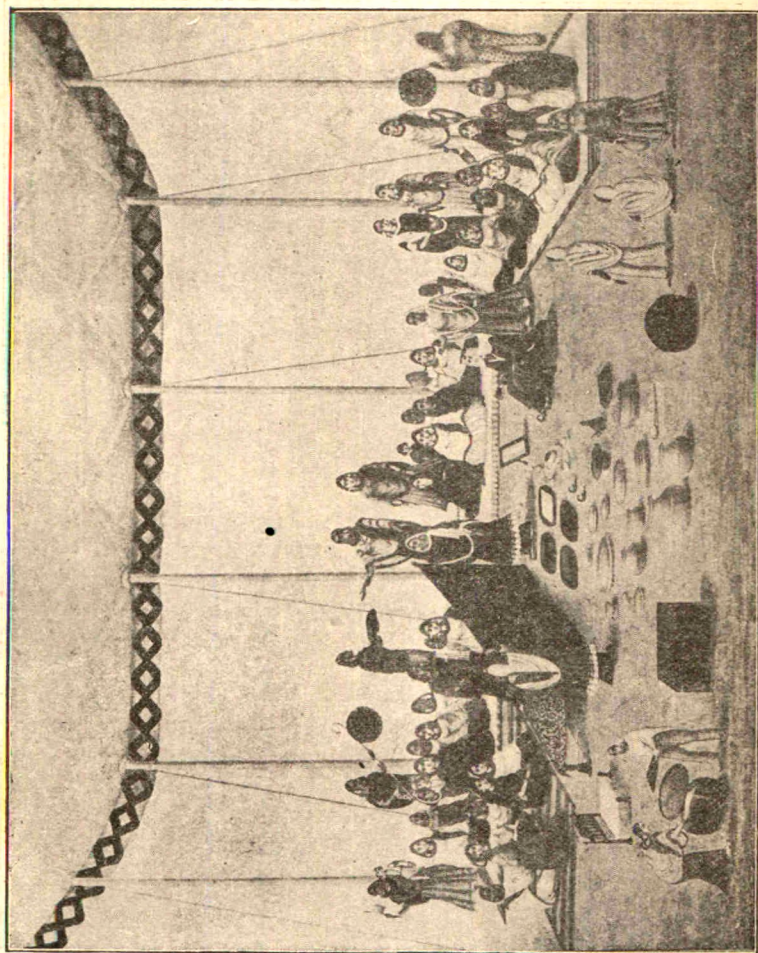
fortunate possessor of some paintings of the high level mark of the days of Muhammad Shah.

After the decadence of the Mughal School, rose the Rajput School—showing softer colour and chaste expression, and having a wonderful charm of their own. Mr. Manuk has a wonderful collection of this section also. Then came the Kangra Valley artists with Mola Ram its greatest exponent, with their paintings representing as a rule, Hindu mythology, with their impressible tenderness. In this field also, Mr. Manuk has a representative collection. He also has a fairly good collection of what may be called the Patna School, alas dying out, with its exponent in Mr. Iswari Prasad, now the Vice-Principal of the Calcutta School of Art and himself a great artist.

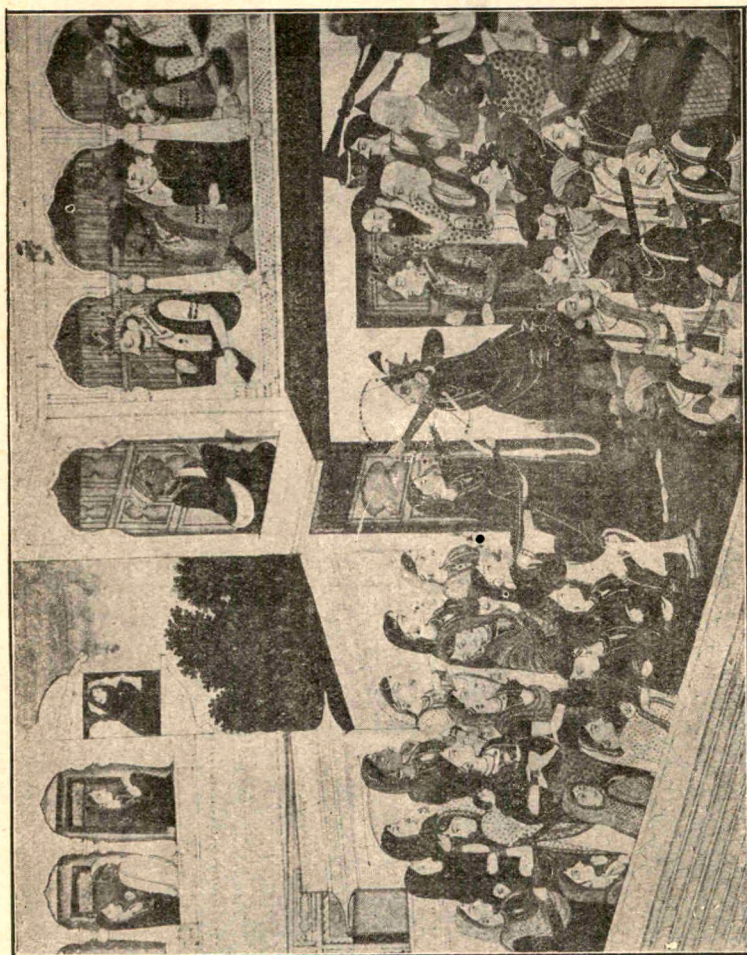
Mr. Manuk does not care, for reasons given above, to collect many specimens of the Bengal School representing the best and most recent revival of modern pictorial art with Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore as its greatest exponent. Here his interest lies only in those pictures which follow purely Indian tradition for according to him, "modern India in striving towards a renaissance has but to follow its own great master."

Thanks to Mr. Manuk, the readers of the *Calcutta Review* had already opportunities to see a few of his priceless pictures in colour, though of course, the reproductions, however well-done, hardly represent the colouring of the originals and we again take this opportunity to express our gratitude to him for necessary permission to reproduce some more of his treasures.

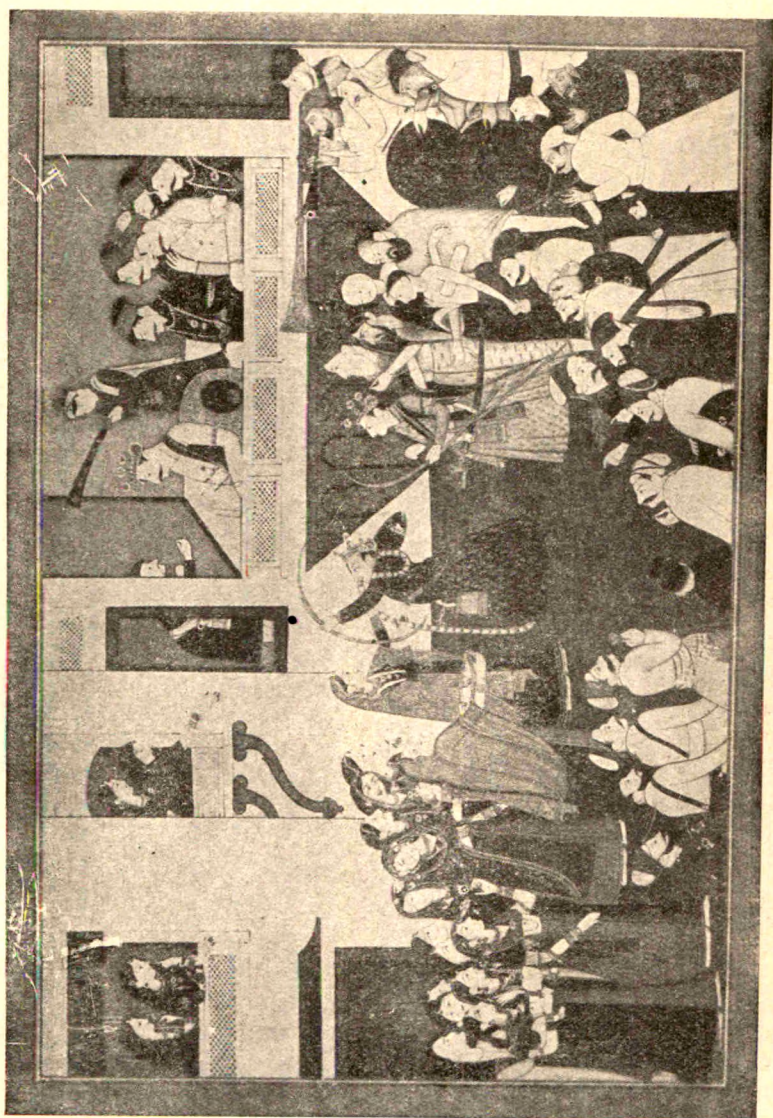
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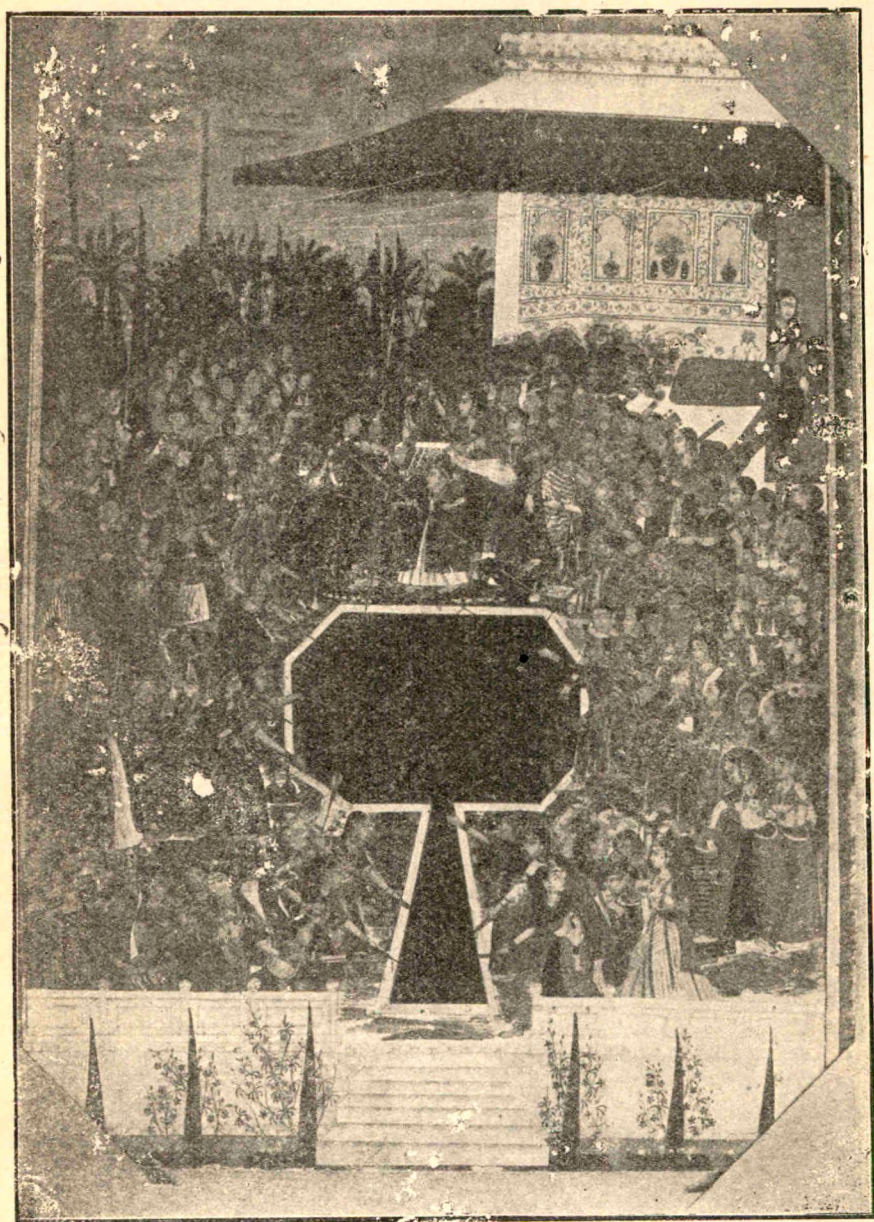
A MUHAMMADAN MARRIAGE



BREAKING THE BOW



BREAKING THE BOW



THE HOLI

THE AMBER ROSARY

Thy perfumed beauty holds for me
More joy than Eastern pearls that lie
Beneath the blue waves of the sea—
The sky-blue waves that mock the sky.

At night the roses pale among,
I bring as to an altar stair,
Thy Amber Glory silken strung,
And tell each bead, a scented prayer.

The Peri bows her jewelled head,
The *Jinnih* droops on bended knee,
When by the lips of men are said
The wild sweet names engraved on thee.

And silver stars behold each hour
The incense of thy spirit rise,
The mystic fragrance of some flower
That bloomed perchance in Paradise.

More dear than jewelled crown or throne,
The echoed Name that o'er thee runs—
"Rose of a thousand Roses blown,"
"Sun of a thousand burning Suns"—

"Calm Singer by the Golden Lyre"
Of gilded strings that lie not mute
"Lord of the lesser world and higher"
"Song of the muteless magic flute."

A hundred Names in wisdom old
I read upon thy amber skein,
And reach the end whose carven gold
I murmur in my dreams again.

Thy perfumed beauty holds for me
More joy than Eastern pearls that lie
Beneath the shadows of the sea—
The sky-blue shades that mock the sky.

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

THE UBHAYABHISARIKA OF VARARUCI

INTRODUCTION.

The text of the *Bhāṇa* named *Ubhayābhisārikā* has been published, along with three other *Bhāṇas* (*viz.*, the *Padma-prābhṛtaka* of Śūdraka, the *Dhūrta-viṭa-saṃvāda* of Iśvara-datta and the *Pāda-tāḍitaka* of Syāmilaka), in one volume under the name *Caturbhāṇī* by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri (1922: publisher, D. G. Sarma and Krishna, Bakerganj, Patna). That one or two of these *Bhāṇas*, if not all, go back to the days of the Imperial Guptas, has been admitted by Dr. F. W. Thomas (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1924; Centenary Supplement to the same, 1924).

The *Bhāṇa* which I have translated is ascribed to Vararuci. The scene of the play is Pāṭaliputra (also called Kusumapura), and the male characters in the play are the sons of high officials of the state or rich merchants, and the female characters are all hetaerae. The state of the society depicted seems to have been the normal high life of the citizens of the imperial city under the decadent Guptas. As such the importance of these *Bhāṇas* from the standpoint of Hindu social history in Northern India is immense. They are also very important documents from the literary aspect. In addition to supplying evidence of the decadence of Hindu society, these *Bhāṇas* present something delightfully natural and charming in the hothouse of Sanskrit belles-lettres.

From their style, these four plays that can easily be put before Bāṇabhaṭṭa, as is also the opinion of Dr. Thomas. From their vocabulary, too, the *Ubhayābhisārikā* and the other three plays belong to that group of dramas of which the *Mrcchakatika* was so long the sole survival.

The following personal names occur in the play :

(1) Men: Acala of the Veśa (*Vaiśika Acala*, the *Viṭa*); Kuberadatta (the hero), the son of Sāgaradatta, a merchant; Nāgadatta, the son of a minister; Samudradatta, the son of Vanadatta, a merchant; Rāmasena, the King's brother-in-law; Dhanamitra, the son of Pārthaka, a merchant; Rāmasena (ii); Viśvāvasudatta the lute-player.

Sahakāraka, the servant of Kuberadatta.

(2) Women: Nārāyaṇadattā (the heroine); Madanasenā; Anaṅgadattā, the daughter of Cāraṇadāsī; Mādhavasenā, the daughter of Viṣṇudattā; Vilāsakaundinī, the *Parivrājikā*; Cāraṇadāsī (ii), the daughter of Rāmasenā; Sukumārikā, an inferior hetaera; Ratisenā, the daughter of Rāmasenā (ii); Priyaṅusenā; Devadattā.

Kanakalatā, the attendant of Nārāyaṇadattā; Ratilatikā.

The time occupied by the play is a few evening hours.

THE PLAY.

[*After the uttering of the Preliminary Benedictory Verse enters the Stage-Manager*]

The Stage-Manager.

"What are you to me, and what am I to you? Let go my garment, you cheat. Why do you glance sidelong at my face? I am not eager. Ah! I know,—you are lucky there—your lips are imprinted with (the mark of) your beloved's teeth. I am not one who is offended with you. Go, you fickle one, and pacify the lady who is (really) cherished in your heart"—may thus lovely ladies speak to you, smitten with love and offended in discords arising out of love [1].

Now let me address the gentlemen. Ah! Is it not that I hear a voice just when I am about to speak? Well, let me see.

[*In the tiring room*]

In the season preceding Spring, the *Lodhra* tree, shorn of its beauty, stands like the poor *Viṭa*¹ perturbed in a friend's mission [2].

[*Exit.*]

[*The end of the Prologue: then enters the Viṭa*]

The Viṭa.

O the glory of Spring! For instance—

The cuckoo, the mango and the *Aśoka* trees, the swing, excellent wine,² and the moon,—these with their charms intensified by the virtue of Spring, may make even God of Love³ giddy [3].

Ah! the amorous people are (now) tolerating mutual transgressions. And the female messengers⁴ are about their business, unrestrained in their domain. Look at the glories of the season! Now coral, pearls, diamonds, waist-girdles, fine linen, muslin, necklaces and *haricandana* are at a premium. Spring, that kindles the amorous instinct of all people and that enchants the world, has thus manifested itself; and there has happened an incident of misunderstanding between Kuberadatta, the son of the merchant Sāgaradatta, and Nārāyaṇadattā. For this reason Kuberadatta's personal attendant, Sahakāraka by name, was sent by him to me (with this message):

“In the temple of the God Nārāyaṇa, while Madanasenā was performing a musical piece invoking the God of Love,⁵ Nārāyaṇadattā (thought thus): ‘ignoring me you have praised her’; and taking offence and so suspecting (me) to be suffused with the flush of love towards her (Madanasenā), she went away

¹ A *Viṭa* is a rake, a *bon-vivant*, either himself rich (as in the *Bhāṇas* of Śāṇḍilya and Śyāmilaka), or a parasite on familiar terms with his associates, and accomplished in the science of erotics and the arts of music and poetry.

² *vara-vāruṇī*.

³ *Madana*.

⁴ *dūtī-janah*.

from there to her residence, not relenting even when I fell at her feet. I want a reconciliation made through the honourable Acala of the *Veśa*¹ who can be said to be (a veritable) perpetual spring of this city,—so that this night may not seem to be (long like) a thousand nights to me with my heart ablaze² with love³ for her.” Having heard this message and having experienced (similarly), owing to the unbearable nature of love’s torments, I was at once starting in the evening, but I was stopped by my wife suspecting otherwise, not calculating the length of my years, and thinking only of her own youth. But having promised to pacify her in her sulks now I am going out.

But surely, what can I promise for certain in an affair like this? Since—

With the help of the sweet notes of the cuckoo, roused (to joy) by the mango blossoms, Spring (himself) would conciliate the lady in indignant mood [4].

Besides—

Through whose good offices can the ladies be reconciled to such a man, through whom all the excellences such as handsome looks, refined character, youthful age, generosity and charity, and conciliatory tongue, shine in the world? [5].

[*Pacing*]

Oh, how lovely are the streets of Kusumapura! Here, indeed, well-watered, well-paved and decorated with various flowers, the road-ways seem to be like bed-rooms of houses other than those flanking the streets. The entrance of shops inside (the bazaars) looks fine with people engaged in buying and selling various articles. The rows of palaces seem to converse with each other with their chanting of the Vedas, their singing and music, and their twang of bow-strings. Somewhere up in the cloud-like mansions with their

¹ *vaiśika*: for *veśa*, see *infra*.

² *tapta*, literally, ‘heated.’

³ *madanānurāga*.

windows open, ladies like the lightning, curious of viewing the street, look beautiful like the *Apsarases*¹ that dwell on the Kailāsa mountain. Further, the chief officers of state are moving about on fine steeds and on elephants and in chariots. Young *Dūtis*,² able to charm the eyes and hearts of young men, possessing graceful playfulness, and having put on ornaments in (proper) places, are walking about, mocking as it were the loveliness of the most beautiful daughters of the city of the Gods. Girls of the hetaerae, with the sweetness of their lotus-faces drunk by the bee-like eyes of all people, are enjoying the tripping grace of their promenade and (at the same time) obliging the street, as it were. What more—

With no cause of fear, every one here is bright-faced, engaged in eternal revelry, adorned with charming jewelled ornaments and toilet, radiant with garlands, perfumes and garments, devoted to sportive enjoyment, and (at the same time) is endowed with, and renowned for various virtues: with all this, the earth, having Pataliputra as her charming *tilaka*,³ now vies with Heaven [6].

[Pacing]

Ah! indeed, with graceful steps, here she comes, the daughter of Cāraṇadāsi, Anaṅgadattā by name, slowly moving with the fatigue of amorous labour,⁴ her beauty having become the nectar for universal eyes. She must have been mercilessly enjoyed by her lover. How?

In her face, her lips are bedecked with imprints of teeth and her eyes dull with slumber and rolling, while her hips are girt with the girdle-chain slackened in amorous dalliance⁵ [7].

¹ Celestial nymphs.

² *preṣya-yuvati* = *dūti* = a female messenger, a procuress.

³ Tiny patch-work of sandal-paste, vermilion or lamp-black on forehead between the eye brows.

⁴ *surata-parīśrama*.

⁵ *surata-vibhrama*.

Ah! her appearance is really a portent of the success of our mission. Bah! she has passed by without noticing me. I shall accost her then. Ah! she is returning herself.

[*Approaching.*]

Girl, why do you not greet me? What do you say?—

“I did recognise you, though late; I greet you.”

Hear this benediction, please—

Gentle one, may you find a lover who is in early youth, free, generous, handsome in looks, rich in wealth, well-behaved, healthy, and well-addicted to love’s sports¹ [8].

Girl, may all this be!

The God of Love² has been truly honoured by him and his life indeed is fruitful who has passed this night with you the Goddess of the *Veśā*³ [9].

What do you say?

“I am coming from the house of Nāgadatta the son of the prime minister.”⁴

Gentle girl, he is indeed one who possessed wealth in the past. Manifestly you have incurred your mother’s displeasure. Why, she smiles with her face downcast out of coyness. Ah! my guess is correct. Nay, not so. How?—

Spurning the mother’s avarice, having the heart fixed on love’s pleasures, disregarding the rules of courtezandom—rules conferring manifold benefits and difficult for the courtesan people to disobey,—and going over to the lover’s place, you have enjoyed the intensely pleasurable amorous festivity: with these your virtues your hetaera people has, therefore, been forced to leave off its pride⁵ [10].

¹ *rati*.

² *Manmatha*.

³ The quarter of the hetaerae, the gay and fashionable quarter of the city.

⁴ *mahāmūtra*: it might mean also ‘an elephant driver.’

⁵ The printed text has *nikṣipta-pādaḥ*, but I propose to emend it to *nikṣipta-vādaḥ* which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere.

Ah! your coyness is indeed appropriate. What is the use of protesting? I shall come to your own house and entreat your mother. But you have acted contrary to the conduct of a hetaera. You may go. What do you say?

"I greet you."

Fortunate lady, hear this benediction, please—

All your own endowments are virtues; they are in you, they need not be praised. May your youth, which is pleasing to people's eyes, be eternal. [11].

She is gone. I shall also walk on.

[*Pacing*]

Now then, the daughter of Viṣṇudattā is coming this way, Mādhavasenā by name, not waiting to be escorted by attendants, and (hurrying) with very quick steps, like a tiny little doe affrighted by the chase of a tiger. Apparently, she must have now been afflicted with the company¹ of an undesirable man, all blame to the mother's avarice. Thus, indeed—

Her face is not lustreless; her dressed locks are not bereft of the beauty of floral adornment, nor are her lips rendered softly radiant for the bite of teeth and for sucking. Devoid of close embrace, the powder-paint on her breasts is untarnished, with all its charm, and the girdle around her hips is neither disarranged nor loosened with the prolongation of desired love-sport² [12].

Ah! afflicted with the company of an undesirable person, she has passed by without noticing me. However, I shall follow her and know the cause of her worry. Ah! she comes back herself. What do you say?—

"Sir, you were not noticed by me."

No harm, girl. Owing to worries, the minds of people with perturbed heart become unsteady. What do you say?

I greet you."

¹ *sambhoga*.

² *gati*.

Please accept this benediction—

May your lovers be rich; may the fellows whom you abhor be poor; and may you never have the company of men whom you do not like, through your mother's avarice [13].

Girl, where are you coming from? What do you say?—

"I am coming from the residence of Samudradatta, the son of the merchant Vanadatta."

Ah! you have done what is proper. He is really the God of Wealth¹ of to-day. Why! she has indeed averted her lotus-face, with the lower lip in shape like a tiny branchlet quivering with a long, hot sigh, and with the eye-brows twitched in a frown. So I have my guess true, then. How?—

Apparently, expecting only the appearance of the Maker of the Day,² O girl, at night, in soulless amour your movements were cold—unwillingly taking the bed and painfully offering you *bimba*-like³ lips, with few words and low, divorced from the graceful smiles, mixed with yawns and hot sighs and the affectionless, loose embrace of the arms [14].

Girl, do not be feeling unhappy. A person lacking beauty but possessing riches, has, in fact, been mentioned among those to be associated with. Now listen, please—

By all means awakening the desire of the beloved, as well as of people who are not loved, money only is to be earned: this is the prescription of the scriptures (the hetaera's code) [15.]

What do you say?

"You too, hold the same opinion as my mother!"

No, not so, madam. There is a reason for this. You may go. I shall come to your place and shall impart to you the truth of the scriptures. Alas! for the fault of (my preaching her) a sermon she has left me without even a good-bye. How worried is the poor girl! I shall pass along, too.

¹ *Vaiśravaṇa* also called *Kubera*.

² *i.e.*, the Sun.

³ An unedible fruit very red when ripe.

[Pacing]

Ah, the *Parivrājikā*,¹ Vilāsakaundinī by name, is coming this way with graceful and light steps, and with her loveliness turned into nectar for the eyes. Maddened with the perfume of her clothes, the cluster of bees, leaving off mango twigs and hovering about, are moving round her in a circle. I shall however speak to her, and thus I shall satisfy the curiosity of my eyes and of my ears.

Revered lady, I am Acala of the *Veśa*, I bow to you. What do you say?

"No need of Acala of the *Veśa*; there may be need of one who is immovable (*acala*) in *Vaiśeṣika* (philosophy)." ²

There is a reason for this. How?—

Your eyes, very big, lovely, and sparkling, are not fixed in one direction; through fatigue, your face, with the lips pouting and jaded with amorous labour, is lovelier; your gait, slow with toil, speaks of the ways of amorous revelry; fortunate lady, your amorous decorations ³ have thus been clearly made known by your lover [16].

What do you say?

"Ah! the slave speaks befitting himself."

Those who are slaves of your two lotus-feet, O fortunate lady, are blessed indeed. For men of depleted merit like us, fair lady, how can it be? [17].

What do you say?

"Exchange of words with men outside the six principles ⁴ is forbidden by our masters."

Revered lady! this is indeed proper. How?—

O big-eyed one! your body is the *substance* ⁵; your prized beauty and other qualities are the *virtues* or *attributes* ⁶; your youth is the *common property* ⁷; youngmen laud your

¹ A wandering female religious mendicant.

² *vaiśeṣikācala*.

³ *vaiśeṣika-viśeṣaka*,

⁴ *ṣaṭ-padārtha-bahiskṛta*,

⁵ *dravya*.

⁶ *guṇa*.

⁷ *sāmānya*.

deeds;¹ with you, madame, people long for *perpetual union*,²—people from whom you obtain *distinction*³; your *attachment*⁴ is with young men after your heart; and your *release*⁵ is from the people who you do not like [18].

Ah! a laugh only is the retort to me. Then my guess is true. What do you say?

“*Sāṃkhya*⁶ is known to me: the *Puruṣa*⁷ is stainless, is without attributes, and knows the cosmic domain.”

Alas! I am made dumb. Madam is getting anxious, as it were, during our talk. I must avoid the disturbance of young people's amour. Madam may go.

She is off, and I too shall move on.

[Pacing]

Aha, is not this the mother of Cāraṇadāsī, Rāmasenā by name, coming this way? Though advanced in age yet she apes the playfulness of young women with their graceful movements, looks, gait and smiles. Oh! what a wonder she is!

Having enjoyed desired enjoyments offered by her lovers, having with her personal charms charmed those whose substance she has drained off, and having been the source of jealous conflicts among young men, now she goes to milk (dry) the daughter's lover [19].

Ah! I shall, meanwhile, enjoy her coquetry till her death—of her, who is a veritable God of Death incarnate for the amorous people. Homage be to her, the mighty thunder for the amorous folk!

O young lady, Rāmasenā! O the one whose fortune of youth has passed unto her daughter! Of what enamoured person is madam out to utterly ruin the family?

¹ karma.

² samavāya.

³ viśeṣa.

⁴ yoga.

⁵ mokṣa.

⁶ A system of Indian philosophy.

⁷ The Supreme Being, according to the Sāṃkhya system of philosophy: the sentence is this: *alepako nirguṇaḥ kṣetrajñāḥ puruṣaḥ*—there is a running pun here.

Ah! an oath only is the retort to me as soon as she has seen me. What do you say?

"It is your own behaviour, really, that swears at you."

Don't talk a lot (of silly nonsense) now. Now do tell me why you are out. What do you say?

"Yesterday my daughter Cāraṇadāsī went over to a rich man's residence. I am off to bring her back on plea of a musical performance."

O the foolishness of Cāraṇadāsī! And why? Being the daughter of yourself who are skilful in robbing the amorous people of their all and are endowed with the power of rejecting those whose substance is sucked up, the poor girl is indeed to be mourned for for not getting the sermon from the scriptures.

How?—

Finding a desirable lover, duly receiving money from him, and fully realising his penury, she does not know, out of love, how to estrange the attached one. Useless to her is a sermon on the truth of the scriptures [20].

What do you say?

"I shall bring her home on plea of musical performance; but you should come and impart to her a lecture on the teachings of our scriptures."

All right. But I am on a friend's errand which must be seen to immediately. I shall attend madam's business too after I have finished it. Madam may go now. I shall also proceed on.

Alas! unreliable is indeed the hearts of the hetaera people. Since—

Caressing with affectionate embraces and fondlings, un pitying, and robbing everything from the enamoured one, the thirsty hetaerae offer their bodies to please others, just as a man would give up his corporeal body out of a spirit of renunciation [21].

Alas! to the amorous people the mothers of hetaerae are doubtless natural calamities which cannot be remedied.

But may all success attend the amorous one by all means, and may death come to the mothers of courtezans, who are skilful in robbing the lovers of their all, and who are expert in throwing the irresistible dart on the hetaera women.

[*Pacing*]

Ah! this way comes the Evil of the Street, the third *Prakṛti*,¹ Sukumārikā by name. Ah! she is of ominous appearance. However, I shall then pass her by; without speaking to her and covering myself with my garment.

[*He does so*]

Alas! she now follows me. What is to be my lot now? Ah! strong indeed is the God of Death, so that, talking sweet, I shall have to save myself (from her), as if from the mouth of a tiger. What do you say?

"I greet you."

Girl, may your husband outlive you and may you be the mother of many sons. Moreover—

You have indeed conquered to a finish (*i.e.* established your superiority in) the dalliance of women with your frowns, your flights of glances, your movements of lips and flourishes of arms, and your graceful gait and voluptuous smiles; your hips are immense and vast, and the waste-girdle is fully exposed, disarranged and hanging loose. O big-eyed one! from whose house are you returning, unsatisfied at heart with amours? [22]

What do you say?

"I am coming from the place of Rāmasena, the brother-in-law of the King."

Ah! his life indeed is (now rendered) fruitful. Fortunate lady, why has this separation taken place, like that of the *cakravāka* couple? What do you say?—

¹ The three *prakṛtis* are *sattvā*, *rajas* and *tamas*: hence *trītyā prakṛtiḥ* is 'darkness.'

"His heart was bathed in the water of affectionate and tender glances of Ratilatikā, the attendant of the hetaera, while she was going to the King's palace, while her amorous tendency was revealed by her clever and sweet laughs—; he, with his desire made known by manifest horripilation, acknowledged that attachment of hers with a bow of the head. Then, being spurned by me who could not tolerate the disloyalty which I witnessed, he fell at my feet. My heart was overcome with jealousy, and so I did not show him favour then. Then he brought me home forcibly..... and stayed with me. Then at night he left me asleep..... and went over to her (Ratilatikā's) place, but has not returned home for days since. Therefore I on my part, not accepting his entreaties and yet burning with repentance, started for you, and have met you by chance. So it is a kindly thing for you to bring about my union with the one whom I value as my life."

Girl, alas for the offence of Rāmasena. How ?

*

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[23]

It is all right, so far. Indignant lady, expect me at his own residence. I have a friend's errand to be attended to soon. After I have done it I shall bring him home, and cause him to fall at your feet,—that fellow proud of his sister's fortune (he is the brother-in-law of the King) and insensible to the affection of tender-hearted young ladies of your type. Madam may go. I, too, shall now go.

Ah ! with difficulty indeed I have freed myself from that low creature.

[*Pacing*]

Hallo ! who comes up and greets me ? Good luck to you ! I meet you now after a long time. You are certainly Dhanamitra, the son of the merchant Pārthaka. Why has

this aversion for amusements come over to you, you who are the dispeller of the darkness of poverty of lackies, dependents, relations and friends,—you who are the awakener of the lotus-like heart of damsels, and who are the full moon in the firmament of Kusumapura? Is it that you raised some capital with the property of your relatives, and while going over to another country intent on making good profit (in business), have been intercepted by robbers? Or, has your property been confiscated by the king for acting to his displeasure? Or, are you pauperized through gambling, which can appropriate the fortune of even the God of Wealth with a single fall of the dice? Besides—

With long-grown nails and hair, with the body covered with dust, with the face extremely pale and emaciated for being engrossed in contemplation, and with your dress coarse, old, dirty and torn, you do not look happy, even like a person accursed by a celestial sage [24].

What do you say?

“I have conceived a great passion for Ratisenā, the daughter of Rāmasenā, and she too is similarly disposed towards me. All this is known to you. Thinking that she would not reject me knowing as she did her mother’s displeasure on account of her avarice,—despite the opposition of friends I made over to her in lump all the fortune of my family. She accepted it, and a few days afterwards she made me put on a bathing costume on pretext of bathing and enter the tank in the *Āśoka* park. I found the door (of the park) closed, but I was let out through a small door by men guarding the *Āśoka* park, who knew the whole affair. Then in this very city starving¹ (and thinking) ‘how can I now put on² such poor clothes for days together,’ I started for the forest and have only accidentally come by you. Though strictly private everything is divulged to you. So will

¹ *ūṛjitam ūṛitvā* = ‘living on (my reserve) strength,’

² *ālīna-vāsam paśyāmi*.

your permission I shall hence-forward think only of self-emancipation."

O the intensity of the *Veśa* people's avarice! O their crooked nature! Come, I shall embrace you. Through luck I see you alive. But why all this?—

The venom of snakes gradually attains neutralisation through the virtue of potent herbs; in the forest, it is possible to save one's self from an elephant whose temples are flushed with the ichorous fluid; succour may sometimes be obtained from the mouth of a sea-monster in the waters of the great ocean; but nobody, when once within the fire at the mouth of the *Vaḍavā*-like women of the *Veśa*, comes out again [25].

O gentle-faced one! Is Ratisenā the cause of your disgust, or her mother? What do you say?

"Why should I tell a lie? Ratisenā, as a fact, is attached to me. This has come through her mother's mischief, really. If you try even the least for my union with her, without her mother's knowledge, my life would then be brought back to me."

I know her love for you, and have indeed heard of it from other people. Ah! he weeps. No need sorrowing. I have now a friend's mission to be seen to immediately. Having finished it I shall come back and accomplish your job. You may go.

O the cleverness of the hetaera people! But no wonder—

As crooked-natured kings attribute all their misdeeds to their ministers, so do the hetaerae, deceptive and cunning, ascribe all their misdeeds to their mothers [26].

Ah! so that poor devil, though a master rascal, is really gone. I too shall proceed.

[*Pacing*]

Ah! who indeed is that uttering my name in a soft and sweet voice, imitating the cuckoo of the spring-tide woodland?

[*Looking around*]

Ah! Priyaṅgusenā? Priyaṅgusenā, I am coming now.
What do you say?

"I greet you."

Take this my good wishes, dear girl. [27]

* * * *

Girl, by giving the touch of your own person, you indeed grant a great favour to the aromatic oil richly perfumed with various scents, (which is applied) to soothe the tired limbs. Sweet-spoken lady, the (poor) fellow who never has looked upon your person of sweet charms, decked with pearl jewellery (even like an elephantess that carries a king and that has a decorated bell-chain hanging loose¹), and whose beauty is artless and winning, has indeed missed a good deal. Since—

Having a glimpse of you, the God of Love² himself with firm energy would feel himself helpless—you who are decked with pearl ornaments and with the imprints of the finger nail, anointed with perfumed oil, having the eyes slightly reddish at the corners and the face smiling, possessed of breasts with youthful warmth, wearing a very fine undergarment, discarding the girdle-chain, and having wide rounded hips, and endowed with a charming loveliness [28].

What do you say?

"It is merely your sweet talk."³

Ah! Is it a hint for service?⁴ Now, no need to show bashfulness. Please speak out the necessity of calling me. What do you say?

"Listen to me, please."

Girl, I am all attention. What do you say?

"I have laid a wager with Devadattā that a musical piece, entitled *Purandara-vijaya*, would be really artistically⁵

¹ *avatārīta-ghanṭā-graiveyaka-kāṣṭhā*.

² *Manmatha*.

³ *priyavacanam* 'sweet talk, a compliment.'

⁴ *sevāvādah*.

⁵ *yathārasam*.

performed at the place of his excellency the lord¹ of Kusumapura of unbounded sway. In this matter you are my only source of success."

Nay, not so. There is no need of a lamp at a night brightened by the full moon. Moreover, the mighty has no need of help and assets. There is, however, one reason. In this very matter I have been charged by Rāmasena whose love and heart have been devoted to you. Why, she turns away the lotus of her face, with her quivering lips resembling branchlets, revealing her inner joy through a slight twitch of the cheek-end of her eyes, and with a graceful frowning pose and smiles. Ha! Rāmasena is truly rewarded for his service. Alas for the foolishness of Devadattā who dares challenge you, you who are blessed with beauty, grace, early youth, a fine complexion, loveliness and other things, with mastery over the four types of histrionic art with all its thirty-two modes of movements of arms, and its eighteen glancing poses, and six postures and two kinds of motions and the eight *rasas*² and with three *layas*³ of vocal and instrumental music—these and other arts of dancing have been veritably graced by your having taken them up. Moreover, in this costume I deem you capable of surpassing even the group of *Apsarases*⁴ that are competent to win the eyes and hearts of Gods, *Asuras*⁵ and great sages.

Moreover,—

With your graceful movements you make the eyes and hearts of people dance in tune; what is the use, O fortunate lady, of dancing? Your winsome graces are enough [29].

Ah! she feels shy. I (feel like) dismissed (with honour) with this becoming bashfulness (on her part). I will proceed onwards.

¹ *kusumapura-purandara*.

² Poetic sentiments.

³ Measures.

⁴ Celestial nymphs.

⁵ Enemies of the Gods.

[Pacing]

Oh! Is that not the maid-servant of Nārāyaṇadattā, Kanakalatā by name, coming this way, with her stiff breasts perfumed with powder,¹ with her locks in her hand—locks that are decked with various flowers,—with a face beaming for some reason or other, and with faltering steps on account of rapturous exhilaration? I am going to address her, nevertheless. Ah, there she draws near and greets me.

Girl, what do you say?

“I greet you.”

Girl, may you be the beloved of your dear one. My dear young lady, why are you thus favouring the street with the series of foot-steps with your lotus-feet? What do you say?

“You really flatter me.”

Madam, this is no compliment. What do you say?

“I stand obliged.”

Don't mention it.² Why this separation like that of the *cakravāka* couple? What do you say?

“While my mistress was resting on a seat of stone at the foot of a young *Aśoka* tree in the *Aśoka*-park,³ her heart overcome with jealousy, giving up her bath, her sleep, her food and her toilet, her agony intensified through the sight of the slight crescent of the moon, through the loud hum of the honey-bees and through the southern breeze sweetened with the perfume of spring flowers, and being soothed with the sweet words of friends,—a certain man, instructed, as it were, by the God of Love⁴ himself, passed by the neighbourhood of the *Aśoka*-park, raising in his lute faint notes and melodious improvisations and singing these two (stanzas)—one a *Vaktra*⁵ and the other an *Apara-vaktra*,⁵—

“‘In vain is his youth, his looks and wealth—who, joined with his beloved, does not amuse himself in spring-time.’ [30]

¹ cūrṇa.

² sarvaṃ tāvat tiṣṭhatu.

³ *aśoka-vanikā*.

⁴ *Madana*.

⁵ A metre.

“ Moreover—

“ ‘ Void indeed is his life on earth, who, on seeing the clear moon and on hearing the sweet notes of the cuckoo, does not conciliate the dear one.’ [31]

“ Thereupon my mistress with her attitude of sulkiness softened by the song, and unable to wait for the long-lived one’s¹ (her lover’s) return, called for me and sent me walking to the master’s² house. But our master too, with his patience relaxed by the attack of spring, was coming with some one to conciliate my mistress, and met her at the door of the residence of the master of the lute,³ Viśvāvasudatta. Finding them somewhat distracted, Viśvāvasudatta, who came out by chance, took them into his own house. Now this morning I have been asked by my mistress, ‘ Go and bring with you the accomplished Acala of the *Veśā*⁴ here.’ So please do come.”

Ah! You have communicated (to me a) cheering news. What could I do to please you? Please accept this good wish—

May your youthful charms endure; may you continue to be the beloved of your dear one for ever; and may you receive continuous enjoyment, proper and desired. [32]

Lead on.

[*Pacing*]

What did you say, Kanakalatā?

“ We now enter this house.”

Yes, we enter then.

[*Entering*]

No, no use of formality.⁵ Pray be seated, you enamoured couple.

¹ āyusmad.

² bhartṛ-dāraka.

³ vjñācārya.

⁴ See *supra*.

⁵ sambhrama.

As Spring, through his own generosity, has brought about your union to-day, so may all the other seasons bring about reconciliation after a mutual misunderstanding (lovers' quarrel) [33].

But I have been forestalled by Spring who is proud of his own power, as I was absent at (the moment of) your reconciliation. What shall I say now? Perhaps no blame attaches to Spring in this (matter). How?—

Gardens, moonlit nights, sweet-toned lutes, friendly concourse,¹ messenger-girls with their diverting talks, and the various seasons :—these do not serve as a cause in bringing about the union of the amorous couples ;—the gushing love, natural and generated from (the mutual appreciation of) each other's attainments is really the cause [34].

I have really been deprived of my devoir in this affair of your love, which is rare in other people, which is embellished by the excellence of mutual qualities, which is caused by your own virtues, which the essence of the science of the God of Love,² and which is the illumination of Kusumapura. What do you say?

“ Our love is also the outcome of your good self's attempts. You, sir, are the real cause of our union. How can he be sufficiently extolled by a few words from the lover folk, when the whole of Pāṭaliputra is now enjoying the charm of his talk?”

I should avoid the interruption of their love by my talking,—of the loving couple athirst for love's sport. With your leave I would like now to retire.

[*The Concluding Benedictory Verse*³]

As you have now been bestowed with happiness while gazing at the face of your beloved one,—the face as lovely as a

¹ *gogṛhā.*

² *madana-tantra-sāra.*

³ *bharata-vākya.*

full-blown lotus, with the mouth uttering soft words of love, radiant and graceful all round,—so too, may the King receive happiness while protecting the entire earth, full of rich harvest, girt with the Oceans, enriched with the breasts of (the mountains of) Meru and Vindhya, and (possessed of) manifold excellence [35].

[*Then exit the Vīṭa*]

SUKUMAR SEN

THE WORLD'S GREAT NEED

God give us men, the world's great need to-day !
Give men of brain and brawn, of strength and soul—
Men with ideals and vision clear and far,
To pierce futurity and build to stars ;
To break all fetters of conventions, creeds,
Traditions, customs stale that hamper growth,
To stamp out superstitions, that like fogs
Blot out the light of truth and dull the brain.
Give men with wisdom such as Confucius taught,
With the compassion Buddha felt for pain ;
Men who could sacrifice for common good
As Antonius and Aurelius brave.
Men like great Plato, with his vision keen—
Give men like Pericles to bring about
The world's renaissance of a Golden Age—
The altruistic age of brotherhood ;
The World's democracy, justice for all.
Give men like Akbar, broad and tolerant,
Whose works withstand corrupting touch of Time.
Men like those early kings to Britain's shores,
Who turned barbarians into men of worth.
Men like king Arthur and his noble knights,
Who sought to give redress for human wrongs.
Give men like Washington and Lincoln true,
Who stood for freedom and sweet liberty !
Give valiant men of zeal, and hearts to guide
All Nations into one Great League of Peace,
That wars shall be no more, with glut of blood !
God give us Women, fit to mother men ;
Women with strength to blaze anew the trail
To freedom, through the World's great wilderness—
As did those women in the days of old,

The pioneers to light the altar fires
In homes that stood for peace and joy and love.
The old World grows aweary of the whirl,
The Saturnalia and useless strife;
The senseless dance of midges in the air—
The thirst for gold, the lust and rottenness,
The vanities, and the unequal fight
Of rich and poor, of ignorance and vice,
Of gilded crime, and Poverty's fierce bite.
O God, how useless seems the sacrifice
Upon Golgotha's hoary, fearful hill!
For still they pass Him by and know him not—
And still the cry, "Release to us Barabbas!"
God send us men, the World's great need to-day,
And give us women, fit to mother men.
We call to Thee, for dark the way has grown—
God send the Light anew, to save mankind.

TERESA STRICKLAND

Reviews

Archæological Survey of India; Annual Report, 1922-23.—This is the second of the new Reports of the Archæological Department where are consolidated and published in one volume the provincial reports of the different Circles. This too has been edited by Dr. D. B. Spooner, whose many-sided scholarship, and above all, sweet reasonableness, we shall now miss alas! for ever. The volume begins with a note of wail on account of "the reduction in the Government of India's expenditure on Archæology by rupees three lakhs *per annum* only." Every student of history will join in this note of wail and fully sympathise with the Archæological Department, which is the only Department that is discovering and making accessible, materials to the historian of ancient and mediaeval India. In these circumstances to allow the Government to wield the Inchcape axe and curtail its expenditure on the Archaeological Department may perhaps be a matter of delight and glory to an imperialist Englishman, but is certainly the height of folly which no Swarajist or true patriot of India ought to tolerate.

The volume is divided into many sections. The first of these deals with the conservation of ancient monuments, which is of little interest to an ordinary reader. It bristles with the names of the monuments, the measures of conservation work carried out, and the amounts of expenditure incurred in each Circle. All these matters may be exceedingly valuable to an archæologist, but will seldom attract the attention of a student of history. There is just one small matter in this Section which smacks of a departmental squabble and is sure to arouse some interest, as man is a scandal-loving animal. Thus on pages 83-5 will be found a succinct account of the acute difference of opinion which arose between Mr. R. D. Banerji and Mr. B. L. Dhama, over the conservation of the ruined spire of the Duladeo temple at Khajuraho, and how the Director-General of Archæology decided it in favour of the latter, a mere Overseer, and against the former, an Archaeological Superintendent, on the strength of a report drawn up by the Deputy Director and Maulvi Zafar Hasan who was afterwards entrusted with the inspection of the work! How Maulvi Zafar Hasan, again, comes in in connection with a monument in Central India no doubt excites one's curiosity, but on p. 190 we read that that he has been placed "in charge under the Director-General of Archæological Works

in Rajputana and Central India." So we understand that in the year 1922-3 Rajputana and Central India were for some unknown reasons separated (wrested?) from the once glorious Western Circle!!!

The next Section deals with Exploration, which is understood to mean 'excavation work' by every Superintendent except that of the Eastern Circle. Of all the excavations carried out up till 1922-3 those conducted by Sir John Marshall at Taxila are always looked upon as the most important. But he was not able to compile his report in time, and consequently the Exploration Section bears "a disappointing semblance to Hamlet with the Prince left out." Of the excavations described under the Section, those conducted by Mr. R. D. Banerji at Mohen-jo-daro are the most curious. What is most significant about his report is that there is not even a surmise of any antiquities, found here, being of the Sumerian type. We read of flint scrapers, funeral urns and even of a soap-stone seal with the figure of a one-horned quadruped and also other seals bearing ideograms or pictograms, but the real character of the civilization to which these antiquities pertain has not been even so much as suspected. On the contrary, we are told that "among them was found the bearded head of a barbarian wearing a pointed cap, similar to the figure discovered in one of the monuments at Taxila." This leads us to infer that the officer who excavated the site apparently took those antiquities to belong to some historical period, though one of the earliest. Thanks, however, to the foresight and sagacity of Sir John Marshall, the photos of these antiquities were published in the different numbers of the *Illustrated London News*, and thus attracted the attention of the Assyriologists. And we do know at present that these antiquities have to be assigned to the Sumerian period. Next in importance comes the account of the excavations carried out by Mr. Page on the Nalanda site. The only point of interest to the student of history to which he has drawn our attention is that side by side with the representations of Buddhist hierarchy were found Puranic deities such as Brahmā and Mahishāsūramardīnī, pointing to "the general catholicity and eclecticism of the people towards religious faith in later mediaeval times." "Again," says Mr. Page, "Yuan-Chwang's reference to the study of the Veda by the monks resident here is equally significant."

The account of Nalanda is followed by the report of Mr. K. N. Dikshit of the Eastern Circle, which, though it contains very little about actual excavation work, is, however, important in many ways, especially to the intelligentsia of Bengal. On page 109 Mr. Dikshit claims to have discovered at least two ancient routes in old Varendra. One of these

connected Puṇḍravardhana (probably Mahāsthāna) with ancient localities of Western Varendra. This requires, however, further confirmation, and let us hope that the Varendra Research Society which has recently been galvanized into activity by Mr. B. N. Sarkar will take up this line of investigation and throw further light on the subject. Then Mr. Dikshit speaks of a temple at Garui, about five miles from Asansole Junction which is "the only extant example of a stone hut-roof temple of the Bengali style, with a simple spire." This unique specimen of ancient architecture is in a sad state of disrepair, and we should be delighted to know what steps Government are taking to arrest further disintegration. The Province of Bengal seems to be poor so far as the old Jaina sculptures are concerned. The Chinese Yuan-Chwang refers to the many places in Bengal where Jainism flourished in his time. But the pity of it is that very few ancient sculptures of Jainism have so far been traced in this Province. Mr. Dikshit is, therefore, to be congratulated upon having discovered an image of Pārśvanātha not only on the bank of the Sanbandha tank but also on a mount at Bahulara which seems to have buried "apparently a Jain *stūpa*." On page 115 Mr. Dikshit says as follows in regard to certain sculptures found near Rampal: "The defeat of the Hindu gods at the hands of the Buddhist deities, which is a common feature in later Mahāyāna images is exemplified in the present instance by the prostrate figure of Gaṇeśa below the lotus seat of the goddess." Here he has obviously fallen into a blunder. On page 173 the late Dr. Spooner has a note on the Nālandā goddess who tramples on Gaṇeśa and whom he identifies with Aparajitā. And what is curious is that he admits that he is indebted for this identification just to this K. N. Dikshit who, however, does not take advantage of it in his own report! It is possible he sent the information to Dr. Spooner after his report was in type. But surely Dr. Spooner as Editor was expected to insert the necessary correction in Mr. Dikshit's report or to refer to it in his own note on page 173.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the Annual Report which we are reviewing is the note by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri on the progress of Epigraphy during 1922-3. During this year he happened to visit the well-known Udaygiri and Kharagiri caves in Orissa and did not lose the opportunity to compare Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's transcript of the well-known Khāravēla inscription with the original. And he has laid the students of Epigraphy under a deep debt of obligation by giving his differences of reading. In line 11 Mr. Jayaswal reads *Ketubhada* but the Rao Bahadur reads it as *Kaibhada* or *Kaibhida*. One cannot help smiling

at this revised reading, because not long ago a bitter controversy raged round this word. Mr. Jayaswal was so sure of his reading that he took *Ketubhada* as a name and identified him with Kētumān mentioned, in the Mahābhārata, according to his interpretation, as a King of Kaliṅga (J. B. O. R. S. 1917, p. 437). Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, was shocked at the enormity of the conclusion based on almost no foundation and pointed out in his article in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, pp. 187-91, that, in the first place, the letters *Ketubhada* were not correctly read, and that, secondly, taking them to really stand for *Ketubhada* and identifying him even with Kētumān as proposed by Mr. Jayaswal, he could not possibly be identified with any prince of Kaliṅga, because Kētumān was mentioned not as a ruler of Kaliṅga at all but only as a Nishāda whose forces again are distinguished from the Kaliṅga army. This was how the controversy began, which seems now to be decided in favour of Dr. Majumdar, and one feels inclined to agree with him when he says that the second edition of the Khāravela inscription by Mr. Jayaswal with radical changes in the reading and the interpretation of the record is the most emphatic retort to any scholar who thinks that the former has achieved the finality of results and that it has "as much or as little claim to be regarded as final as the first." (*Ind. Ant.*, 1919, p. 191.)

Of the revised readings given by the Government Epigraphist there is one more which is worth noticing here. In line 8 of the Khāravela inscription Mr. Jayaswal reads *Yeva Narīdo nama*. The Government Epigraphist, however, reads it as *Yavanaraja Sama*. This reference to a Yavana king in that record is indeed extremely interesting, supposing that this reading is true. One cannot, however, be quite certain on this point. In regard to the transcripts of the smaller records in the Udaygiri and Kharāgiri caves published by Mr. R. D. Banerji, the Government Epigraphist has revised some of his important readings. What has been read as *Kharasa* has been shown by the Government Epigraphist to read *Airasa*. And anybody who knows that *Aira* was a title assumed by Khāravela cannot possibly understand how it came to be read *Khara* at all. Although Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has subjected to a careful revision Mr. Banerji's readings of these cave records, he follows him rather slavishly in regard to the contents of the Sānchi inscription (p. 134). Mr. Banerji published this record in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, p. 232. It was, however, left to Mr. N. G. Majumdar to thoroughly revise and re-edit this important document in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* (N. S.), Vol

XIX, pp. 243-4. Anybody who compares the transcripts given in these two papers with one another and with the facsimile given in the *Epigraphia Indica* will be compelled to admit that Swāmi Jivadāman is a mere figment of Mr Banerji's imagination.

There is just one more point in the report of the Government Epigraphist which is of some importance. A short tour, we are told, was undertaken by Pundit Hirananda Sastri in Malabar in order to examine there some antiquities mentioned by M. Jouveau Dubreuil (p. 133). He inspected these monuments in two places, and found them to be underground cellars, the construction of which resembled the shape of the Buddhist *stūpa*. The French scholar took them to be the monuments of prehistoric or Vedic times used for the sacred fire. Panditji, however, thinks that the few monuments which he inspected were possibly meant for depositing the ashes of the dead. It is desirable that all these monuments should be thoroughly inspected, that those, which are important, might be opened, and that the scholarly world may be speedily informed of the results of this investigation.

The next Section in the report is concerned with the Museums and opens with a note on the Indian Museum, Calcutta, by Rai Bahadur Chauda. It gives a straightforward account of the progress which this Institution has made and is interspersed with many learned views and suggestions which will doubtless be of use to the scholars. The Rai Bahadur has also contributed a short note on the Mathura School of Sculpture (pp. 164 ff.) under 'Miscellaneous Notes.' And although the subject is handled here more from the epigraphy than from the art point of view, the Note certainly contains matter of some value. He gives a short description of a statue discovered by Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna of Muttra and worshipped locally as *Mānasadevī*. In the inscription engraved on its pedestal he traces the name of Kunika as the teacher of its sculptor, and identifies him with the Kunika named in the inscription on the Parkham image. This is indeed a very valuable suggestion which, we hope, will be accepted by art students with alacrity.

There is also a Section in this Report which is entitled "Indian States with Archæological Departments of their own." Many are the States which are so treated, such as Hyderabad, Kashmir, Bhopal and Gwalior. The work done by Mr. M. B. Garde in the Gwalior State is, however, of extreme interest, and may therefore be referred to here. All archæologists will be delighted to know that the paintings in the Buddhist caves at Bagh are at last being properly looked after. Steps are being

taken not only to clean the paintings but make them also waterproof Mr. Garde also did a bit of excavation work on the site of Sondni (near Mandasor), where the two pillars of Yaśodharman were found. But of greater importance perhaps is the fragmentary stone inscription he found at Mandasor. It records the construction of a well by Dattabhāṭa, Commander-in-Chief of the forces of king Prabhākara, in Mālava saṁvat 524 (467-68 A.D.). The inscription mentions the early Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II. and his younger son Gōvindagupta, Dattabhāṭa, the donor, being a son of Gōvindagupta's General (*sēnādhipa*) Vāyurakṣita.

It has been stated above that this Report embodies in one volume all the annual reports that were formerly issued separately by the Director-General of Archæology and the Archæological Superintendents. Thus it cannot but be full of interest, and Sir John Marshall must sincerely be congratulated upon having ensured an all-round activity in the various Circles under his control. The review touches upon those points only which were considered to be most important by the writer. But if space had permitted it and if an all-round archæologist had been the reviewer, the review should have become quadruple of what it has actually become; and even such a big review would not perhaps be sufficient for describing the manifold activities of the Department if the lay readers were to be given a fairly adequate conception of it. There is, however, one point which we cannot omit to mention, as it perhaps somewhat vitiates the character of the Report. Formerly some Archæological Reports were published without any diacritical marks at all, as it was thought to be somewhat costly. But what is strange about the present Report is that although they have been used, they have been used neither fully nor discriminately. The best course, of course, would be to use them all round and intelligently. And it is sincerely hoped that the Reports of the Department that would be out after the publication of this review will leave nothing to be desired in this respect.

APOLLODOTUS

Germany's Future in World Politics—(Göhre, Paul : *Deutschlands Weltpolitische Zukunft* [kurt vowinkel Verlag], Berlin-Grunewald, 1925).

In this interesting volume entitled "*Deutschlands Weltpolitische Zukunft*," the former Secretary of State, Dr. Paul Göhre has given a lucid expression of a new awakening of Germany, through which she is

bound to come to the forefront in world economics and politics. The author is a realist, but at the same time is imbued with a spirit of idealism. He places great importance on "the conscious faith" of the German people in their future destiny. He says in substance :—

"During the days of inflation, the question of stabilisation of currency was the most important factor in German national welfare. To day it is of greater importance and urgent need that *the German people should have a firm faith in the future of our people and the will to acquire a completely new type of development and knowledge of non-aggressive character.* Men do not live by bread alone. First comes the right of a great people with a great historic past. It must not be forgotten that Germany is not a nonentity among the nations ; but excluding Russia, which really does not belong to Europe, Germany is the home of the strongest people of continental Europe. It is the home of the nation which has played a great historic rôle during the Middle Ages in the form of the Reformation. Germany has contributed a great deal to the development of modern civilization and she is now facing the world after one of the great revolutions in the history of the world. Germany has suffered tremendously ; and through the sufferings produced by great want, a deep awakening must come which will emphasise *the need of self-delivery which will guarantee new, quick and proud rise of the nation to a world-wide personality.*"

II

The author tries to analyse the ways and means by which the above-mentioned ideal for his people can be fulfilled. He regards that (a) Pacifism, (b) World Revolution, (c) War of Revenge and (d) Re-alignment of Powers on the basis of the old theory of "the balance of powers" and thus forming new alliances are all impossible and impracticable ways to achieve the end.

He thinks that pacifism in politics is impossible ; because (*politik ist und bleibt Kampf*) politics is and remains as struggle. In spite of all organizations and efforts, pacifism above all is not a political principle, neither is it a political conviction, but at the most it is an ideal. And as a political art, at all events, it is a shelter-cloak for states, particularly small states, for their very existence ; and it is something like political mimicry of these states. Pacifism cannot make Germany a great

nation, in the face of the forces that are dominating world policies of all nations. The quakers and the Gandhites may preach passive resistance or non-co-operation, as a great weapon for success ; but it has been proven in the Ruhr and in India that passive resistance or non-co-operation will fail unless the whole world accepts the same tactics.

In a very brilliant discussion against the theory of "World Revolution," as the way to recovery of Germany, the author presents his views which can be summarised as follows :—

The idea of so-called World Revolution is nothing but spreading Russian Communism with the conscious efforts of destroying German nationalism. It aims to destroy capitalistic economy and business in all Europe by a general attack, if that is possible. If that is not possible, it aims to bring about revolution, first in Germany, the strongest industrial centre of Europe, and then in France and then in England and the rest of Europe. It is not only undesirable, but also impossible that Germany should follow the same course as Russia ; because Germany has the strongest foot-hold in industrial life whereas Russia has none. In Russia the so-called peasants acted as radicals whereas in Germany the peasants are conservative. The German working people and masses are socialistic, democratic as well as loyal to the state, and in Russia the working people are bolshevistic. The whole historical structure of the German people and their national psychology is different from that of the Russians. Then again the Communist Revolution of 1917-18 is not the same as it is practised to-day in Russia. In Russia private property virtually exists, where the peasants have become owners of landed property ; in place of the large industries which were in existence in Russia before the revolution, small home industries are flourishing to-day. Class system has not disappeared in Russia ; on the contrary small peasants, petty businessmen and Soviet officials and workers are trying hard to come to the top. A new class system is in the process of creation. They are now seeking foreign capital from America, England, France and even from Germany, through commercial Treaties and giving concessions. The last mentioned policy is strengthening the hold of capitalism abroad. Thus the very idea of re-elevation of Germany to world prominence through a communistic world revolution is not only absurd, but fully impossible and impracticable.

For a totally disarmed Germany which does not enjoy international diplomatic support, and which is practically rendered isolated, the policy of revenge against France is mere madness and does not insure a faint possibility

of success. The author gives a comparative table of military strength of France and Germany as it stood in 1922 :—

		In Germany.		In France.
Officers	...	4,000	...	38,000
Men	...	96,000	...	800,000
Field artillery	...	300	...	3,000
Heavy artillery	...	None	...	1,160
Fort artillery	...	38	...	6,000
Airships	...	None	...	1,300
Tanks	...	None	...	300

From strategic, economic and diplomatic point of view, Germany cannot fight France successfully. The very idea of a war of revenge will not allow the German people to have the requisites for peace which they need to recover their position.

The author makes an external survey of world politics and shows that forming of new alliances in place of the old ones, will never give peace and prosperity to the German people and thus dismisses the theory of forming alliances with various nations. There are many Germans who to-day think that an Anglo-German Alliance is the best solution for German security, but the author regards it to be the most absurd idea, and its impossibility is clear to the blind (*"noch viel einfacher liegt die Frage eines Bündnisses mit England. Seine Unmöglichkeit ist auch dem Blinden klar"*). In the field of world economics and British Imperial interests in Asia, there is a new awakening of great significance. It will be against Germany's interests to be tied up with Great Britain. The author even does not favour a Russo-German Alliance, although he recognizes that Russia will favour Germany, as long as the latter will act according to the direction of the former. He emphasises the fact that Great Britain cannot ever sincerely favour Germany. (*"Russland will uns wohl, aber nur, wenn wir ihm unterordnen; England aber will uns überhaupt nicht, Sela!"*)

III

The author places the greatest importance on such activities as will insure and augment Germany's national health and economic strength. It is through intensive labour, Germany must recover her position. She

must radically modernise her industrial machinery so that she will rise to the peak of efficiency, in comparison with all the industrial peoples of the world. She must have access to necessary raw materials, from all parts of the world, especially from Russia and if possible from her own colonies. She must try to recover her old markets and create new ones and thus she will recover her economic power and faith in future.

Recognising the fact that all economic transactions produce political consequences, the author suggests that the Polish and other questions should be solved through Germany's industrial expansion and commercial association. He points out that although Poland is culturally closely connected with France, even to-day 60 per cent. of Poland's economic relations are with Germany, and thus a future economic understanding (with political effects) between Germany and Poland is not an impossibility. To-day Czecho-Slavia, Roumania, Servia and other nations are talking about the possibility of a Danubian Federation, and Germany should have a policy so that she will be able to play her rôle in the economic life of these nations.

The author with astonishing boldness preaches a new form of *Continental Politik*, the cardinal feature of which is based upon Franco-German co-operation. He advocates that there must be moral and material solidarity between France and Germany, in matters of production and distribution, in a world-wide scale. In fact there should be an *economic General Staff* for this very purpose. With Franco-German solidarity, and through Germany's entry into the League of Nations, and the solution of the reparation question through a Congress of European powers, which will allow Germany to assert economically, Germany will be able to regain her position among the nations of the world. This will make Germany the centre of the world, because she lies in the heart of Europe; and Europe is and will remain the centre of the Great world.

One may not agree with all the conclusions of the author but the book presents a point of view which deserves careful consideration by all who are interested in the cause of world peace and world reconstruction.

TARAKNATH DAS

Tibetan Folk Tales—by A. Shelton, 195 pp. New York: George N. Doran Company, 22.00 net.

This book contains forty-eight short folk tales, which will form a delightful addition to any library of books for children and has undoubted interest for anyone concerned with the folklore of distant countries.

The author, Dr. Shelton, was recently killed by a Tibetan bandit before the book appeared. As explained by Mrs. Shelton in the preface, the tales consist of a number of unwritten stories which pass from generation to generation in Tibet by word of mouth. Approximately half are fables of the animal kingdom carrying a moral. The remainder are tales of magic, virtue rewarded, etc. One of the stories, in particular, bears a marked similarity to our own fables of the tortoise and the hare, the tortoise in this case being a frog.

A number of the tales throw light on the racial traits of the Tibetans. Their aversion to bathing appears in the story of the man who, by dint of frequent washing so lightened the complexion of his face that he was readily mistaken for a god. To anyone familiar with the habits of the Tibetans in regard to personal cleanliness, this will by no means appear incredible. In another story the system of polyandry, an established feature of life in Tibet, results in the unfortunate heroine, the object of six claimants, being suddenly cut by them into as many parts. In many of the other stories also polyandry is taken as a matter of course.

These entanglements, however, leave the book no less a source of delight for children. There are a dozen illustrations to please the youthful reader, and the music of three interesting folk songs is given at the end of the book.

H. M. BRATTER

Ourselfes

THE PROPOSED BOARD OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

We publish here below the various proposals relating to the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education for Bengal:

I. Mr. Lindsay's Letter:

FROM

J. H. LINDSAY, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.,
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

TO

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Darjeeling, the 26th April, 1926.

SIR,

I am directed to address you on the question of the formation of a Secondary Board to supervise the working of Secondary Schools including those to which Intermediate Classes may be added, and to request that these general proposals may be placed before the Senate of Calcutta University so that the Fellows may have an opportunity, after considering the general principles involved, of placing before Government their opinion on the Board and its functions.

2. The personnel of the proposed Board might be somewhat as follows:

(a) A President paid and appointed by Government after considering names put forward by the Senate of Calcutta University. Ordinarily, he should be a whole-time officer on a pay of not less than Rs. 2,000 a month but this would not preclude the appointment of an unsalaried President, if a suitable person were available.

(b) The Director of Public Instruction.

(c) Seven representatives elected by the Senate of Calcutta University of whom one must be a member of the Syndicate, one a Muhammadan

whole-time educationist and two whole-time representatives of the affiliated Colleges, one at least of whom should be a Principal.

(d) Two Inspectors of Schools nominated by Government, one of whom shall be a Muhammadan.

(e) One Head Master representative of the teachers in Government Schools and three Head Masters, of whom one must be a Muhammadan elected by teachers of non-Government or aided schools.

(f) A woman graduate engaged in teaching in a college or high school elected by the women graduate teachers of girls' schools or colleges.

(g) Four members nominated—two by the Senate and two by Government for special purposes such as agriculture, industries, commerce, public health, education of the domiciled community, etc. These gentlemen must be definitely connected with the subject for which they are nominated.

(h) One representative nominated by the Executive Council, Dacca University.

The Board would have various power including—

- (1) supervision of education in secondary schools;
- (2) recognition of institutions as qualified to present candidates for examinations including the Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations of the Calcutta University;
- (3) the holding of examinations other than University examinations;
- (4) the making and distribution of grants-in-aid to the institutions under its control;
- (5) the appointment and control of its own inspecting staff.

It is desired that the Board shall be an independent body and free from outside interference in its work but it will be necessary that any measure that is framed should contain provisions which would enable Government to interfere if the Board overstepped its powers or refused to function.

3. I am to say that it is not proposed by the formation of such a Board to interfere with the control of the University over the Matriculation Examination including therein the prescription of the necessary standards and text books and the realisation of the Matriculation fees.

4. Government would be grateful if the Senate would consider these general tentative proposals and would be glad to receive their views on these suggestions.

I have, etc.,

J. H. LINDSAY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

II. The University of Calcutta Secondary Education Bill, 1925, as drafted by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor:

A Bill to provide for the regulation and control under the University of Calcutta of Secondary Education in Bengal.

Whereas it is expedient to establish under the control of the University of Calcutta and as an integral part thereof a Board to direct and supervise Secondary education in Bengal other than in that portion thereof which is under the control of the Dacca Secondary and Intermediate Board: And whereas the previous sanction of the Governor General has been obtained under sub-section (3) of Section 80A of the Government of India Act to the passing of this Act:

It is hereby enacted as follows:

Short title, extent
and commencement.

1. (1) This Act may be called The University of Calcutta Secondary Education Act, 1925.

(2) It extends to the whole of Bengal except to that portion thereof which is under the control of Dacca Secondary and Intermediate Board.

(3) It shall come into force on such date as the Local Government may, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette, direct.

Definition.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or on text—

(1) "Board" means The University Board of Secondary Education constituted under this Act.

(2) "University" means the University of Calcutta as at present or hereafter constituted.

(3) "Local Government" means the Government of Bengal unless otherwise expressly provided.

Establishment of
Board of Secondary
Education.

3. (1) A Board shall be established to be called "The Calcutta University Board of Secondary Education."

(2) The Calcutta University Board of Secondary Education shall subject to the provisions of this Act direct and supervise the system of Secondary Education in Bengal other than in that part thereof which is under the control of the Dacca Secondary and Intermediate Board.

Constitution of Board. 4. The Calcutta University Board of Secondary Education shall consist of the following members:—

(a) A President to be appointed by the Senate of Calcutta University in consultation with the Local Government when he is in receipt of a salary.

(b) The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

(c) The Director of Public Instruction, Assam, in the event of the control of schools in Assam being placed under the Board.

(d) Four ordinary Fellows of the University of Calcutta to be elected by the Senate of the University of whom one at least shall be a Muhammadan and at least two shall be Principals of or teachers in Colleges affiliated to the University other than the University Law College.

(e) Two non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council to be nominated by the Council one of whom shall be a Muhammadan and one non-official member of the Assam Legislative Council in the event of the control of schools in Assam being placed under the Board.

(f) A member of the Syndicate of the University to be nominated by that body.

(g) Two Inspectors of Schools to be nominated by the Government of Bengal one of whom shall be Muhammadan, and one Inspector of Schools to be nominated by the Government of Assam in the event of the schools of that Province being placed under the control of the Board.

(h) Two registered University Teachers and one senior Secondary teacher to be nominated by the Syndicate of the University one of whom shall be woman and one a Muhammadan.

(i) Four members to represent such special subjects as Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Medicine and Public Health. Two of such members shall be nominated by the Senate of the University and two by the Local Government.

(j) One member of the domiciled community to be nominated by the Anglo-Indian Association.

(k) One member to be nominated by the Muslim Association.

5. If any of the nominating or electoral bodies referred to in Section 4

does not, by such date as may be fixed by the University, nominate or elect the full number of persons to be nominated or elected by them to be members of the Board, the Senate of the University shall appoint such number of persons in place of such members as shall make up such full number and any person so appointed shall be deemed to be a member of the Board as if he had been duly nominated or elected by such body.

Procedure in case of failure to elect members of the Board.

Disqualification.

6. A person shall be disqualified from being elected or appointed a member of the Board if he—

(a) has been sentenced by any Court for any offence involving moral turpitude, such sentence not having been reversed or quashed or

(b) is an undischarged insolvent.

7. The name of every member of the Board, elected or appointed under Section 4 or Section 5, shall be published in the Publication of names. Calcutta Gazette.

8. The Board may for reasons to be recorded in the proceedings permit Leave of absence of any member to absent himself from meetings of the members. Board for any period not exceeding three months.

9. (1) A member of the Board shall be deemed to have vacated his seat—(a) on his absence without leave as provided in Vacation of seat. Section 8 from three consecutive meetings of the Board, or

(b) on his proceeding out of India for any period exceeding three consecutive months, or

(c) on his becoming disqualified for election or appointment as a member for either of the reasons mentioned in Section 6.

(2) A member of the Board may resign his membership by notice in writing to the President.

(3) On the occurrence of any vacancy referred to in sub-section (1) or sub-section (2) the President shall forthwith report the fact of such vacancy to the Registrar of the University.

10. If any member dies, or resigns his membership, or ceases to be a member as provided in Section 9, the vacancy shall be Filling of casual vacancies. filled, within such period as may be prescribed by the Senate of the University by a fresh election or appointment, as the case may be, under section 4 or section 5.

11. (1) The term of office of the first members elected or appointed under Section 4 or Section 5 shall commence on such Term of office of members. day as may be fixed by the Senate of the University in respect of such members.

(2) Subject to the provisions of Section 9 the term of office of members shall be three years except in the case of the representative of the Syndicate appointed under the provisions of Section 4 (f) whose term shall be for one year only and a fresh nomination shall be made annually by the Syndicate of the University of a representative at the first meeting of the new Syndicate of the University in each year or so soon thereafter as possible.

(3) Any member shall, if not disqualified for either of the reasons

mentioned in Section 6, be eligible for re-election or re-appointment at the end of his term of office.

12. There shall be paid to the members of the Board and to the members of Committees and Sub-committees not ordinarily resident in Calcutta such travelling and halting allowances as may, from time to time, be fixed by the Board and approved by the Senate. The President shall decide whether a member of the Board is ordinarily resident in Calcutta within the meaning of this clause but any member of the Board aggrieved by his decision shall be entitled to refer the matter to the Syndicate of the University whose decision shall be final.

13. (1) The Senate of the University shall with the approval of the Local Government if a salaried Secretary is appointed, appoint a Secretary to the Board and may with such approval as aforesaid grant leave to such Secretary and appoint a person to act in his place.

(2) The Senate of the University shall with the approval of the Local Government fix the salary and allowances of the Secretary and of the person (if any) appointed to act in his place.

14. (1) The Board shall arrange for the inspection of all Schools which come under its jurisdiction either by inspectors placed at the disposal of the Board by the Local Government or by Inspectors appointed by the Board for this purpose and the Board may also appoint such officers, clerks and other servants as it may consider necessary and shall pay to such Inspectors, officers, clerks and servants such salaries and such allowances, if any, as the Board may from time to time subject to the approval of the Local Government determine.

(2) The Board may establish a Provident Fund for such of its officers, clerks and servants as are not lent by the Local Government for service under the Board and also a Provident Fund for the teachers in institutions under the control of the Board. Such funds shall be established on such conditions as the Senate may impose and the Board may contribute to any such funds at such rates and such conditions as may be approved by the Local Government. The Board may also, subject to such conditions and limitations as may be approved by the Local Government grant a pension, gratuity or bonus to any of its officers, clerks or servants.

(3) The Board shall pay the salaries and allowances of any officers, clerks or servants lent to it by the Local Government or by the

University at such rates as may be fixed by the Board in the case of the former in consultation with the Local Government and in the case of the latter with the University and shall contribute to the pensions of, or to any Provident Fund which may be established for the benefit of, such officers, clerks or servants and to such extent and in such manner as may be mutually agreed on between the Board and the Local Government and the University shall realise and pay to the Local Government or to the University as the case may be the contributions to be made by any such officers, clerks or servants for the purposes of any such pensions or in respect of any such Provident Fund.

(4) Every member of the Board and every officer, clerk or servant thereof shall be deemed to be a public servant within the meaning of Section 21 of the Indian Penal Code.

15. The Board shall be at liberty to appoint such Committee or Committees as it thinks fit from amongst the members of the Board and also to nominate as additional members of such Committees such person or persons, not being members of the Board, as it thinks fit provided that the number of nominated members of any Committee shall not exceed in number one-third of the total number of members forming any Committee.

Appointment of
Committees.

Powers of the Board.

16. Subject to the provisions of this Act the Board shall have the following powers:—

(1) To direct and supervise education in all Secondary Schools in the Province of Bengal other than in that portion thereof which is under the control of the Dacca Secondary Board.

(2) To prescribe courses of study for such institutions.

(3) With the special consent of the Senate to conduct examinations at the end of such prescribed courses.

(4) To recognise institutions for the purpose of the preparation and sending up of candidates for the Matriculation Examination of the University.

(5) To call for reports from the Department of Public Instruction on the condition of recognised institutions or of institutions applying for recognition.

(6) To make and distribute to institutions under its direction and control grants-in-aid from the funds of the Board and to distribute any money that may be placed at its disposal by the Local Government for such purposes and on such conditions as may be prescribed by the Local Government.

(7) To establish with the consent of the Senate Intermediate Colleges and with such consent as aforesaid to recognise any existing institution as an Intermediate College and with such consent as aforesaid to permit any institution recognised by the Board to open Intermediate classes corresponding to the 1st and 2nd-year classes now carried on by any college affiliated to the University provided always that no such consent in any of the cases mentioned above shall be given by the Senate unless and until all affiliated Colleges who may be prejudicially affected shall have been given an opportunity of laying their views before the Senate but so that the Senate shall be the sole judge of what colleges may be prejudicially affected.

(8) To submit to the Senate each year at such time or times as may be prescribed by the Senate :—

(a) A short statement of the financial requirements of the Board for the coming year to be forwarded after consideration of the Senate to the Local Government.

(b) A report in duplicate as to the working of the Board and as to the conditions and working of the institutions under its direction and control one of the reports so forwarded to be sent by the Senate of the University to the Local Government.

(9) To submit to the Senate its views on any other matter with which it is concerned.

(10) To co-operate subject to the approval of the Senate with other authorities in such manner and for such purposes connected with Secondary or Intermediate education as the Board may determine.

(11) To make regulations to be approved by the Senate for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act.

(12) To do all such other acts and things as may be requisite in order to further the objects of the Board as a body constituted for the supervision and direction of secondary education in that part of the province of Bengal which is not under the control of the Dacca Secondary Board.

(13) With the approval of the Senate to perform such duties and exercise such control as may be assigned to it by any other Government including the Government of an Indian State, over institutions within the territory of such other Governments.

13. The University shall open at the Imperial Bank an account to be called "The Bengal Secondary Education Fund" Banking Account. and all sums paid into the account shall be applied exclusively for the purposes of the Board and for no other purposes whatsoever.

The Board, subject to the approval of the Senate, shall decide how and by whom such account is to be operated on from time to time.

There shall be placed to the credit of the Fund—

(a) Any fees realised by the Board.

(b) All sums if any allocated by the University to the Board out of its funds.

(c) All sums allotted to the Board from the Provincial revenues by the Local Government or by other Governments or any contributions made by Indian States.

(d) All sums received by the Board from any local authority, association or private person, including any sums made over to the Board by way of endowment or Trust and

(e) all other sums realised under the Act or under the rules and regulations made thereunder.

Provided that surplus money of the fund, which cannot immediately or at an early date be applied for the purposes of this act, may from time to time be deposited at interest in the Imperial Bank of India or in any other Bank or Banks in Bengal which may be approved by the Senate and by the Local Government. The loss, if any, arising from any such deposit shall be debited to the fund.

19. (1) The Board may, subject to the approval of the Senate, make rules of business to regulate in respect of meetings of the Board and of Committees and Sub-Committees.

(a) The times and places at which such meetings shall be held.

(b) The issue of notices convening such meetings and

(c) the control and conduct of business thereat.

Provided that :—

(1) No business shall be transacted at any meeting of the Board unless a quorum of 9 members be present and

(2) all questions at a meeting of any of the bodies mentioned in the sub-section shall be decided by the votes of the majority of the members present and voting and in case of an equality of votes by the casting vote of the President or of the member presiding at the meeting.

(3) Until such time as the rules of business referred to in sub-section (1) have come into operation, it shall be lawful for the President of the Board to summon a meeting at such time and place as to him shall seem expedient by a letter addressed to each member.

20. Subject to the provisions of the Act, and of the rules made thereunder, and to the sanction of the Senate, the Board of Making of regulations may make regulations to provide for all or any of the following matters, namely—

- (a) the duties and powers of the President and Secretary to the Board;
- (b) the duties and powers of the Committees;
- (c) the constitution, duties and powers of the sub-committees;
- (d) the conditions of recognition of institutions and withdrawal of recognition;
- (e) the courses of study to be followed in institutions recognised by the Board;
- (f) the election of members of sub-committees;
- (g) the conditions under which and the purposes for which grants-in-aid shall be given by the Board to institutions recognised by the Board;
- (h) the inspection of institutions;
- (i) the transfer of students;
- (j) the residence and conduct of students;
- (k) the formation of District Advisory Committees;
- (l) any other matters which by the Act or by the rules made thereunder are to be or may be provided by the regulations.

Power to make regulations.

21. (1) Within six months from the commencement of this Act or within such further period as the Senate may fix in this behalf the Board shall cause a draft body of regulations to be prepared and submitted for the sanction of the Senate.

(2) If a draft body of regulations is not prepared and sanctioned in accordance with sub-section (1) the Senate may make regulations which shall have the same force as if they had been prepared and sanctioned under sub-section (1).

22. The Bengal Secondary Education Fund Application of Funds. shall be applicable to the following objects and in the following order :—

(a) To the payment of salaries of the President, Secretary, Officers, Clerks and Servants of the Board and the fees of examiners appointed for the purposes of this Act.

(b) To the payment of contributions towards pensions or towards any provident or annuity fund in accordance with the provisions of Section 14 hereof.

(c) To the payment of fees, if any, and travelling and other allowances, if any, to the members of the Board and to the members of the Committees and Sub-Committees of the Board and to its officers, clerks and servants.

(d) To the payment of the cost of audit.

(e) To the payment of expenses incurred by the Board for the purposes of this Act and of the rules and regulations made thereunder including such capital expenditure as may be necessary and

(f) to the payment of grants-in-aid, rewards and scholarships and to any other purpose, including and special purposes, for which funds have been placed at the disposal of the Board, for which a payment may be made by the Board under this Act and the rules and regulations made thereunder.

Provided that any monies received by way of endowment or trust for a particular purpose shall not be diverted to any purpose other than that for which they have been received.

23. The Senate of the University may call for any information from the Board in respect of the matters under its control and in respect of its income and expenditure and may direct the Board to take any action which to the Senate of the University may appear to be proper.

Power of Senate to call for information.

24. The Senate of the University may at any meeting specially called for the purpose and convened in accordance with the regulations of the University dissolve the Board by a vote of a majority of two-third of the members of the Senate present and voting at the meeting and upon such resolution being carried the Board shall *ipso facto* be dissolved and all matters concerning secondary schools shall thereupon devolve upon the University as if the Act had never been passed. On the happening of this event such of the money standing to the credit of the account referred to in clause 18 hereof or invested in accordance with the provision of that clause as has been supplied by the Local Government shall subject to any claims for salaries be returned to the Local Government and in the event of difference as to the amount to be so returned to the Local Government this shall be determined by arbitration in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Arbitration Act.

Power of Senate to dissolve the Board.

25. (1) The Senate may make rules to carry out the purposes of this Act. (2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power the Senate may make rules

Power to make rules.

(i) to regulate the election of members of the Board under this Act and to fix the dates within which such elections are to be held ;

(ii) to determine the conditions relating to the grant of pensions, gratuities and bonuses to officers, clerks and servants of the Board, the contributions payable by the Board by the officers, clerks and servants of the Board towards the pension and provident fund for the benefit of such officers, clerks and servants and the contributions payable by teachers in institutions under the control of the Board to any provident fund established for their benefit and the contributions payable by the Board to such fund ;

(iii) to regulate the form of the statement of financial requirements of the Board, the registers to be maintained by it and the submission of reports and returns ;

(iv) to regulate the conditions and the purposes for which grants-in-aid may be made ;

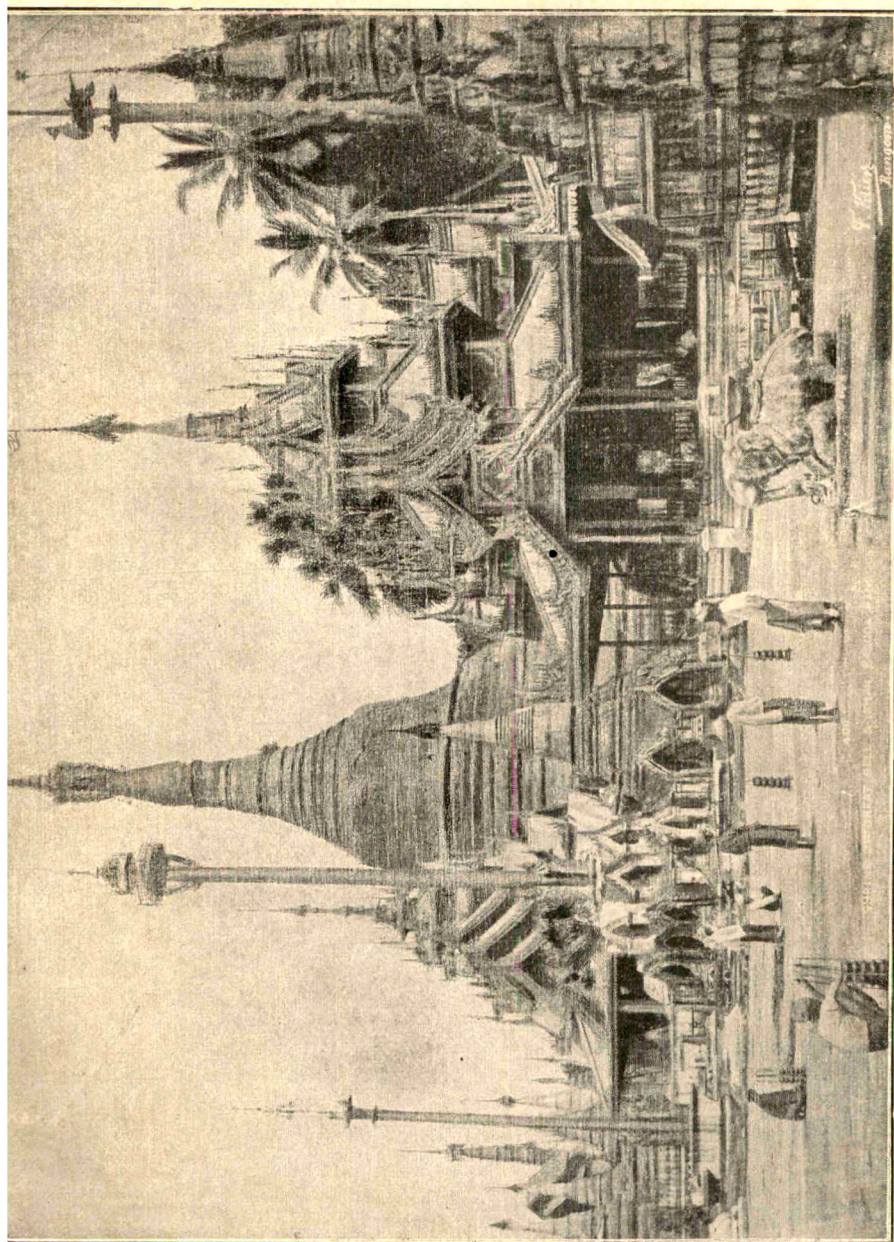
(v) to regulate the manner of keeping the accounts of the Board the periodical audit thereof and the payment of the cost of audit ;

(vi) to regulate the expenditure of money out of the Bengal Secondary and Intermediate Education Fund and

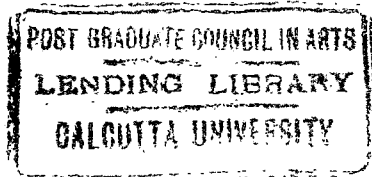
(vii) to regulate the method of entering into contracts by the Board and the persons by whom money may be paid out of and received into the Bengal Secondary Education Fund.

26. No regulations made, or orders passed, or action taken by the Board, and no order passed or action taken by any of the Committees or Sub-Committees of the Board shall be deemed to be invalid merely by reason of any defect in the constitution of the Board, Committee or Sub-Committee, or by reason of the existence of a vacancy or vacancies among the members of the Board, Committee or Sub-Committee.

We reserve our comments for a future issue of the *Calcutta Review* and we are waiting the publication of the report of the Committee appointed by the Senate to consider the vital question.



FROM THE LAND OF THE PAGODAS



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1926

ISLAM AS A PROBLEM¹

There is no necessity for the study of Islam to justify its existence. The history of Islam, for a long time past, has acquired towards the study of languages, spoken by the Muslims, the very same position as ancient history occupies in relation to classical philology.

It would be an extremely easy task to enumerate the various problems which the study of Islam raises, but the subject under discussion is not *one* of the Problems of Islam, but *Islam itself as a Problem*.

We use the word 'Islam' in various senses. First, we understand by it a religion—both as originally taught by the Prophet and as subsequently moulded into a fundamentally different orthodox system; and yet again we understand by 'Islam' the present-day popular religion of the Muslims of Asia and Africa.

Whether we think of the actual religious practices of the Turks or of the Negroes—whether we speak of a Ghazzali or of a Sudanese Mehdi—we simply use the term 'Islam.' Indeed, the less known about a people, the more apt are we to generalise.

¹ Translated from the German of Prof. C. H. Becker,

Who, indeed, would venture—without making himself ridiculous—briefly to describe the existing Church of Abyssinia as ‘Christianity?’ Or even, without further explanation, speak of it in the same breath as Protestant Christianity?

Nor is this all—we designate by Islam one of the great historical world-empires, and the numerous individual States grown on its ruins; nay even the Muslim States of to-day. Further we include within it—not only the actual States—but a political theory as well—built upon constitutional or eschatological doctrines. And, finally, with the very same name of Islam we describe the entire civilisation, including religion and State—a civilisation which, despite all distances in space and time, does bear an impress of unity.

And, indeed, so closely knit are religion, State and civilisation in Islam, that the large collection of races of such differing racial histories and traditions as the Aryans, the Semites, the Negroes, are all set down under the all-embracing name of Muslims.

The deeper we enter into this question the more differences shall we discover. Thus it is not always easy precisely to define what, in each particular case, is meant by Islam.

But, notwithstanding all keenness and circumspection in abstract analysis, even the specialist cannot but use the simple, common term Islam.

Is he justified in doing so? Can all the manifold aspects referred to, be put together, without contradiction, under the general term ‘Islam,’ which essentially denotes a religion?

By speaking about the Problems of Islam, as such, our attitude has been *a priori* fixed.

In analysing the word ‘Islam’ we visualize the main factors which, in their harmonious co-operation, have produced the impression of Islam as a unity. As already stated, they are the common faith, the common political ideal, the common civilization—despite local differences—perceptible in the ideal,

and, in certain measure, in practice. That religion is the uniting bond of these factors, and that politics and civilization owe their existence to religion, is a proposition which cannot be questioned.

At present, at least, Islamic religion is a powerful uniting bond, welding the centrifugal national forces into a great whole. When the Wangindo¹—in German East-Africa—accepts Islam, he gives Islam henceforth, and not the Wangindo, as his tribe.

The Arab fraternizes with the negro convert and, in the religious centre, Mekka, all these threads meet. Especially as against Christian Europe do the Mohamedans of the whole world feel as a unity.

As religion imparts a more or less uniform character to daily life, we may speak of Islamic civilization as a unity. This fact, undeniable at present, has made the understanding of the historical development of Islam particularly difficult.

What assigns to religion, mainly, if not exclusively, the credit of having evolved a uniform Islamic civilization, is the fact that, with Muslims, religion is an all-powerful factor to-day and, furthermore, the entire historical phenomenon of Islam goes back to its religious founder.

To this must be added the ecclesiastical point of view (an inheritance to us from the Middle Ages), which regards Islam even now as *Communis Opinio*. The Middle Ages and the period immediately succeeding the Middle Ages saw in Islam primarily a hostile religion, which not only erected a barrier to the expansion of Christianity, but which even actually trespassed upon its territorial possessions. The new religion—so they contended—and so they explained its historical development—inspired enthusiasm in the Arabs, and the need of world-conversion urged them on and on. They spread

¹ Missions—Blätter, XIII, Part 9, p. 130 (*Organ der St. Benediktus-Missions-Genossenschaft zu St. Ottilien*).

their religion with the sword. Mohamed was not only Prophet but also Statesman. This union engendered the idea of a world-empire and, in the new empire, the Arab culture, in alliance with the Islamic religion, created an Arab Islamic-civilization. However much the Prè-Islamic ideas and institutions may survive—religion was not only the *Primum Movens* but it was actually the creator and the organizer of the new civilization, and from religion, as from a fountain-head, the entire later development flowed.

Religion thus inevitably set the seal of unity on Islamic civilization. Hence the conception of the unity of Islamic civilization !

Embued with a false notion of the development of Christianity, European writers found in Arab authorities a confirmation of their own opinion regarding the development of Islam; for, like them, the Arab authorities were entirely clerically-minded. They, too, looked upon Islam as an entire creation of Mohamed and the orthodox Caliphs, and placed State and society, science and economics under the hegemony of a religious formula. In the flower garden of theories if a wild branch, here and there, shot forth, it was soon lopped off as an unnatural growth.

By religion has the world of Islam been ruled in the past, and it is so ruled to-day, at least in theory.

Not until the last decades—in any case long after the publication of *Alfred Von Kremer's* admirable *Kulturgeschichte*—does modern criticism begin.¹ Gradually and slowly, indeed, has the enquiry stepped out of the groove of Islamic tradition, and we have learnt to distinguish between Law and Politics; Religion and Life; Theory and Practice. In the conflict between the demands of religion and the claims of popular customs we have seen the latter triumph, and, in

¹ I have translated the major portion of this book into English. Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs* (Calcutta University Press) and *Studies in Indian and Islamic*, Trübner (1926).

countless instances, we have noticed that religion is naught but a purely literary form. We have observed religious laws developing, not in consonance with, but in opposition to, practice.¹ Thus the conclusion is borne in upon us that the gift of the founder of the Arab world-empire was not so much religion as world-dominion to the Arabs.

Are not all these matters food for thought? In the face of these facts do not our traditional views of the rôle which religion has played, as a dominant element, stand in need of correction?

The problem is infinitely more complex than it seems at first sight. No one, for one moment, doubts that Islam owes its rise to a religious impulse. But between the religious-mindedness of Mohamed and the Pan-Islam tendencies of to-day there is a gulf which, as a rule, the lay mind lightly bridges over.

How then, does the religious idea of the founder overcome all obstacles? And how, again, has the world-embracing unity of Islamic civilization (in which religion actually dominates) developed from the religious teachings of the Prophet?

Even ridding ourselves of inherited views we will, indeed, affirm the importance of religion in Islamic civilization—maintaining, however, that in the evolution of that civilization the *determination to rule* and the *advantages arising from rapid economic development* were far more effective than religion.

Thus on soil manured and prepared by other agencies Islam thrives and flourishes.

The problem of Islam, then, resolves itself into the question: *How has the unity of Islamic civilization come about, and what part has religion played in its development?*

Let us begin with an analysis of the expansion of Islam

¹ Aghnides, *Introduction to Mohamedan Law*, pp. 106, 155. Tr.

as a religion. Should we assume that the expansion of religion was due exclusively, or indeed, mainly, to religious zeal—the need for proselytism? In the Mekkan period this, doubtless, was the case. I cannot agree with the historian who sees in Mohamed a politician from the very outset who, according to political opportunism, wavered to and fro, between Christianity and Heathenism.¹

Only, with success, did the politician awake in Mohamed.

Patience and renunciation such as Mohamed displayed and passed through in Mekka cannot be ascribed to political ambition, but to a deep, inner, overpowering religious conviction. In the old Suras of the Qur'an not an imaginative schemer, but an honest enthusiast, speaks out.

But any one who knows the Oriental, and the Arabs in particular, knows how piety and selfishness, transcendent speculation and material interests dwell side by side in their souls. Mohamed wanted the Mekkans to share in his religious experiences. The idea of an Islamic world-empire comes in, if it comes in *consciously* at all, in the last years of his life. We, not unlike our authorities, judge these things in the light of subsequent events. The beginnings of Islam, thus, are purely religious.

From the time of the change of residence to Medina there comes, unconsciously, for Mohamed and his companions (all the more perceptible to the critic of the motive of their actions), the thought of political power as a stimulus alongside of religion. Henceforward the watchword is no longer conversion to the religion of Allah, but subjection to his Prophet.

In very few instances, *even* with those nearest home, were conversions to Islam genuine, that is to say, born of real religious conviction. The conversion of tribes *en masse* was certainly political. Thus it is apparent that the expansion

¹ Hugo Winckler, *Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch*, 1901, pp. 52 et seq.

of Islam as a religion is closely intertwined with the ascendancy of Medina.

And, to be sure, even before Islam had crossed the frontier of Arabia, out of a religious and essentially political movement had come into being. But so long as Islam is confined to Arabia, the members of the New State—at least most of them—accept its religion—however outward and formal that acceptance may have been.

This position of affairs completely alters the moment this young State subjugates the ancient civilizations of Western Asia and North Africa. Then *sharply and clearly the expansion of Islam as a State separates itself from that of Islam as a religion*: for the old fairy tale that the Arabs imposed their religion on Western Asia with the sword—that staple argument of Christian polemics—need not any longer be discussed or refuted.

Everywhere were the subject-races allowed freedom of worship—only *politically* they were placed under the sovereignty of the Arabo-Islamic State. This fact shows better than anything else that Islam no longer *then* was that religion of the *Mekkan* Prophet which was whole-heartedly intent upon extension and diffusion as a faith.

This may have been a political compromise, but it is none the less an infallible indication of the fact that the Arab national element preponderates over the universal religious element of the Prophet.

Exceptional cases apart, the Arabs never really thought of converting the subject-races. Like the early Colonisers they wanted to constitute themselves an upper stratum with a mass of paying helots under them. *Of the State the Arab—who, after the fashion of modern citizenship, had acquired the character of a Muslim—was the only citizen.* In point of fact and of time, the political conquest of Western Asia is sharply divided from its Islamization. Between the two there lie one to two, nay, three centuries.

For an understanding of our subject it is necessary that we should enter into a separate enquiry into these two striking historical processes in the development of Islamic civilization as a unity.

From what has been said the expansion of Islam, as a State, cannot be *mainly* ascribed to religious enthusiasm. The one idea which was supposed to explain the remodelling of the Orient during the VIIth Century, was the idea of a 'Völkerwanderung,' and in this light were the victorious campaigns of the Arabs regarded. Economic reasons were assigned by some, but the chief driving force in this upheaval, according to others, was religion.

It is the undeniable merit of Hugo Winckler to have recognized the fact of the Arab 'Völkerwanderung' in its true historic perspective and significance. Leone Caetani¹ has built upon Winckler's suggestions his ingenious—though very contentious—theory of *inaridimento*. This theory looks upon the Arab migration which poured forth into the neighbouring lands from Arabia—the seat of the Semites—as the last great Semitic migration. The new strain in this theory is that it sets down this migration—like all others—to a change of climate—extending over thousands of years—and to gradual desiccation of the land. Thus, in this light, hunger and not religious enthusiasm, was what drove the Arabs beyond the Arabian frontier, as was the case with the allegedly Semitic migrations of antiquity some thousand years before.

I entirely subscribe to this theory, for it is well-authenticated by historical facts. For centuries before Mohamed Arabia is in a state of unrest. South Arabians settle down in the north. The frontier tribes roll over into the civilized lands around. Indeed there is no peace in Arabia since the Arabs first step beyond their frontier.

¹ *Annali dell' Islam*, IIa. H. 12, 105-171.

We have historically attested information of the economic set-back of the country, with positive proof of want of water-supply. Arabia, as its old architecture and as information drawn from classical sources show, was in a state of retrogression for centuries.

We should not, of course, assume that this *inaridimento* is effected in one or two millennia. It is a question of thousands of years. But through causes not yet fully known—such as changes in sea-currents or deforestation and others—climatic changes may have taken place at a more rapid rate. Nor must we forget that nations do not always instantly respond to these changes. Perhaps the Arabs would have remained to-day undisturbed, within the Arabic peninsula, had they not found powerful support in the young militant Islam, or had the conditions in Persia and Byzantium been less favourable to conquest.

If religion played, as we have shown, a subordinate role, the strongest motive for this colossal popular movement was naught else but economic. If Arabia had been economically sound, or if the Arabs had lived in well-assured affluence, even the prospect of booty, perhaps, would not have lured them away from their homes.

Had a powerful religious enthusiasm been the propelling cause of this 'Völkerwanderung,' the young Islam would then have shown itself in every different colours, from what it actually did, outside Arabia.

In the expansion of Islam the driving force, then, is economic. But economic reasons by themselves have never established, nor will they ever establish, a world-empire. The Arab tribes were in a state of flux and, in their isolation, what good were they against the military powers at the frontiers? The tribal jealousy made common cause a sheer impossibility. At this stage Islam comes in. Not that Islam succeeds in permanently hushing old tribal quarrels into Islamic brotherhood. We know, indeed, that acuter than

ever became in Islam the contrast between the South and the North Arabian tribes; but when Mohamed drew the tribes to his banner, as we have already shown, political ambition had long overshadowed religious zeal. But be it noted that only religion made the political organization of the Prophet possible. Out of the community grew the State. It was, indeed, not the community but the State which used the Arab 'Völkerwanderung,' which originated independently of it, for its political ends.

Look at the men who founded the Arab world-empire. A Khalid b. Walid, and an Amr b. al-As were by nature conquerors and rulers of men. They did not worry about religion. In fact they made use of it. Nor did they, at the time, shrink from a Machiavellian policy. Abdullah b. Omar, and religious natures such as his, have not in the least contributed to the expansion of the Islamic Empire. The Medinite government, with its generals, organised the movement, which soon, however, grew over their heads. We can easily understand how startled the central government was by its own successes. We also realize how, with an unerring political instinct, it succeeded in setting a limit to the predatory instincts of the tribes, and in gradually establishing a net-work of colonies and settled administration in conquered countries.¹

The uniting Shibboleth is, indeed, Islam, but in the sense of the world-dominion of the Arabs.

Like all great ideas of the Orientals—this national aspiration, too, was deeply tinged with religion. But the discriminating critic sees the contrast between *Nationalism* and *Religion* in the view they took of conversions to Islam. Conversion, then, was only possible or practicable through affiliation into the Arab tribal union. The national element won the day.

• ¹ *Annali dell' Islam*, III, *passim*.

Not to the zeal for conversion—not to the burning words of an inspired Prophet—but to sheer economic necessity, to the unrest of the tribes—must we point as the causes which urged the Arabs on to a world-mission.

The union of a happy Shibboleth with political ambition, sustained by ardent and powerful personalities, accounts for their amazing successes. Such is the genesis of the Islamic world-empire!

How, then, *despite the difficulties alluded to, was the islamization of the subject races effected?*

The sword being ruled out of consideration—let us first direct our attention to the question of intensive missionary activities. This is the subject of an elaborate book (unfortunately little known), 'The Preaching of Islam' by T. W. Arnold, who ascribes the conversions chiefly to the "unremitted labours of Muslim missionaries" (p. 3). He deplores that so little is known on this score. The want of information is, indeed, not surprising; for *then* Islam knew not the precept "Go forward and teach the world." Not to a set-purpose was its diffusion due; it was a mere consequence of the emigration of Muslim population. The missionary activity of old Islam is scarcely distinguishable from that of modern times—only it was attended with greater difficulties.

Expansion of the Islamic faith meant multiplication of the ruling class, and a corresponding diminution of the tax-paying subjects. This was not to the interest of the Government and the Arab Overlords. From the very beginning idealists there were to whom the exchequer was a matter of indifference, but what importance had they in a State built upon the contrast between Muslims and Non-Muslims?

How little did the Arabs, in the beginning, take conversions into account, is manifest from the fact that they had to transform the entire economic basis of their financial system when conversion in large masses began.

And, indeed, the Arab State carries the germ of decline and

fall within its bosom in so far as it did not peremptorily forbid the conversion of the non-Arabs to Islam. For when, by the outward acceptance of a religious faith, they *ruled*, how could they straightway pass over into the circle of the rulers? The social distinction between them was no longer possible or conceivable. But a general prohibition against conversion would have been at variance with the spirit of Islam, which shut its door against none. Thus the idea of a universal religion shattered the foundation of the nationality of the State—originally identical with this religion.

It speaks for the strength of the State and the lack of a religious propaganda that this result did not straightway show itself within the first decade.

They realised when it was too late that expansion of Islam, as a religion, spelled disintegration of the State. Immediately after the conquest, some thousands accepted Islam, particularly the town-folk; for they were eager, as speedily as possible, to be absorbed into the ruling class. So long as the toiling millions remained unconverted, this accession of strength was wholly welcome to the Arabs for purposes economic and military. Nor did the upper ten thousands fail to see their gain in as close an alliance as possible with the Arabs. In these circles there were doubtless numerous religious discussions between Christians and Muslims. Of them the writings of John of Damascus give us a glimpse. But this free intercourse did not contribute much to the actual diffusion of Islam.

The missionary activity only becomes effective when it passes out of the more or less religiously indifferent Arabs into the hands of the newly converted Aramaeans who, in matters religious, were very differently schooled from the Arabs.

To this we shall return later. Much stronger than missionary preaching were the economic advantages which dangled before the neo-converts. As a *Maula* such a convert

acquired Arab citizenship. He was relieved of the heavy tributary-tax. He was permitted to participate in many of the advantages of town-life. In some measure, at least, he shared the social privileges of the Arabs. Conversion, thus, was not too great a sacrifice, after all. Moreover, the Islam of those days—antecedent to the development of dogmatics—was not so very unlike Christianity. It seemed more like a new sect than a new religion. Added to these was a certain reaction of the Semitic mind against the thoroughly Hellenised Christianity of the time.

And was not Islam—so they argued—the religion of the ruling class, whom God Himself had helped on to victory?

In these circumstances, feeble, then, was the spiritual resistance against obvious, palpable material gains.

And thus the economic considerations—with their strong forceful appeal—had their way.

It speaks very much for the strength of religious inertia—possibly it is only a case of want of sufficient accurate information—that it took more than half-a-century before conversions to Islam began to affect the balancing of the budget. Already under the great Al-Hajjaj, remedy was sought against the disastrous consequences of the expansion of Islam as a religion. The last decade of the Omayyad rule is full of measures seeking to harmonize the increasing Islamization with State-principle and policy. This led, eventually, to a great reform in the principles of taxation. Of this reform we know only an outline.¹

Henceforth acceptance of Islam did not mean freedom from taxes, and but only a partial social equality with the Arabs.

Islamization, on a grand scale, only began when the Arab State-principle ceased, in the main, to be operative, and when conditions making for social adjustment, according to

¹ Wellhausen, *Das Arabische Reich*, p. 297; Becker, *Beiträge Zur Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 81; Papyri Schott Reinhardt, 39 sq.

the principle of nationality, ended. These changes took place in the first century of the Abbasid rule, and were brought forth by multifarious causes.

Most important of all was the material and intellectual superiority of the subject-races—a superiority which became more and more manifest day by day. Till then the Arabs had congregated in camps, away from the subject-races, and had played the role of grand seigneurs!

But when fresh and yet fresher batches came in from Arabia into the provinces—when wars ceased—when the Arabs, instead of being State pensioners, had to earn their living—and when, finally, into their caste the ever-growing circle of the *Maulas* broke in, they had nothing to put forward as against the overwhelming superiority of the subject-races.

They then accommodated themselves to them; whereas in the beginning they let them alone, they ended by becoming entirely dependent upon them. Such was the case both in the country and in the town. After the Arabs had become landowners, peasants, and artisans, they became economically dependent, or, at all events, found themselves on a footing of equality with the clever neo-converts. Henceforward the preservation of their prerogatives became more and more difficult.

This was the case both in the economic and intellectual spheres. The Aramaeans, the Greeks, and the Persians were so infinitely superior to the Arabs in culture and tradition, that they regarded them as naught but rude and slovenly barbarians, who, only with difficulty, could adapt themselves to the refined culture of Western Asia.¹

To the anti-Arab reaction the Arab really had no answer—no culture or learning of equal worth to show—nothing to urge or put forward save his religion. It was religion, indeed,

¹ Cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 14 sqq. (Khuda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilization*, where the passage from the *Iqd*, relating to the subject, has been translated.)

which secured him his importance, and upon religion even the indifferent laid an emphasis !

The religious nimbus was the one thing which could not be taken away from him.

The ascendancy of the Arabs, however, would not have so quickly succumbed to the cultural influences of the subject-races had the head of the State firmly upheld the aristocratic principle of the Arab State. But even the Government—to be effective—had to adapt itself to the political views of the majority of its subjects, which responded, to a large extent, to individual ambition. Even in Omayyad times we see its beginnings, but, under the Abbasids, the old Oriental despotism—with its deification of rulers, its paraphernalia of court etiquette, its exploiting instruments—the instruments of Bureaucracy—and its institution of the Slave Body-guards—is fully developed, or more correctly speaking, is fully restored. Thus the prerogative of the Arabs even for the headship of the State becomes intolerable, and thus the *old Oriental-State system swallows up the Aristocratic-State of the Arabs*.

Henceforth there is no longer a ruling class over subject-races, but a master over mere servants of equal rank. *The process of social levelling is thus completed.* The servants naturally hasten to accept the religion of their master, or adopt it by merger into the quondam upper stratum. In this way the language of the Arabs spread, and with it their religion.

Now conversion proceeds at a quicker pace. The missionary activity stands to the credit not of the Arabs—for they lacked the missionary impulse for conversion of the subject-races—but of the neo-converts and their descendants. These, indeed, had a very different tradition from the Arabs.

As former Christians they knew that ecclesiasticism and history are full of evidence of the rôle which religious questions played among the Aramaeans. Equally familiar were the

Persians with the ideas of a State-Church and the omnipresence of religion.

With the restoration of the Despotic-State system of the Chosroes there came in the idea of State clericalism—an idea, which, in spite of all their religious superiority, was wholly foreign to the Arabs.¹

Now, conversion of the heathen was to the interest of the head of the State—unlike what it had been in the Arab Empire. And the ruler found support in quite a new class of men (who were not available in the beginning of the Arab period)—namely, in the theologians, the jurists, the dogmatists, in short, in the learned in the scriptures—to avoid the misleading term clergy.

Animated by religious zeal, these people could proceed on the basis of social equality, and thus act towards the subject-races in a very different spirit from that of the Arab rulers of the earlier times, who only accepted them, in their midst, with extreme reluctance. In the Abbasid period the glory of the pious consisted in the number of converts that he had made.² This fact proves that they regarded 'conversion' as a meritorious act. In these circumstances Islamization, as may be imagined, went on at a very rapid speed. Already, in the third and the fourth century of the Hegira, it had attained the extent shown by the present-day Orient.

In later times expansion of Islam as a religion was doubtless due to religious conviction—just as it was in the Mekkan days of the Prophet. In the intervening period, however, economic and political forces operated, if not exclusively, at all events far more powerfully than proselytizing zeal.

Thus the modern Orient gradually accepted Islam.

Does this fact explain the religious unity of Islamic

¹ Goldziher, *Islamisme et Parsisme* (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 43, 1901, pp. 1 et seq.) (This paper has been translated into English by G. K. Nariman in his *Persia and Parsis*, Part I, Bombay, 1925. Tr.)

² Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, 65.

civilization? Certainly not! To say that, would be to mistake cause for effect.

It is not Islam as a religion that has produced the uniform civilization, but the uniform civilization of the Caliphate—the resultant of diverse causes—which explains the development and the victorious advance of Islam as a religion up to the present time.

The real issue is obscured by the fable of 'Arab culture' and its victorious course. The Arabs are said to be the creators of the civilization of the Caliphate, and there are people who even credit the Arabs with the glories of Alhambra and the splendour of the Mamluk architecture. This is a complete misconception. The philological view of history is quite as erroneous as the theological one, just refuted. Because the Islamic era begins with Arab migration—because Western Asia, since the Caliphate, speaks Arabic—because its older literary monuments are in Arabic—the civilization is set down as Arab civilization. From what has been said, we can see how little Arab there was in it; this will appear clearer than ever from the sequel.

Where, indeed, do we have anything typically Arab in the culture of the Caliphate? In the State? Certainly, at the outset, but, we have just shown that the Arabs were unable to retain their form of Government even during the golden period of the Caliphate.

In administration? It was not the wisdom of the first Caliphs, but the Byzantine and Persian Bureaucracy, that fashioned the Arab administration.

And precisely as in the administration so in domains material and intellectual. Does not even the Arab religion show in its dogmatic texture the impress of Christian controversies, of neo-platonism, of Indian mysticism? Are not philosophy and natural sciences borrowed from the Greeks—architectural styles from the Byzantine and Persians—the art of historical writing from the Persians, etc., etc.?

True, in poetry, and particularly in certain branches of law—such as inheritance, marriage and others—the civilization of the Islamic world does bear a strong Arab colour. But, even in law and in the precepts of the Qur'an, naught save the old practices—obtaining in the higher circles of Arabia for a century—have been adopted and retained. A large part of the casuistry comes from quite another source.

And is it not exceedingly characteristic that of the 'roots of Jurisprudence' (Usul-al-Fiqh)—which are divided into sources and principles—the sources only are Arab; the principles, mere borrowings from the existing civilizations? Thus there can be no talk of more than a mere Arab admixture in Islamic civilization. What we are inclined to think as most specifically Arab—as for instance, the great *Adab* and *Hadith*—are really not Arab at all, but Western-Asiatic. What, at best, can be claimed for them is that they contain elements common to the Arabs, but, more frequently than not, they are through and through *un-Arab*.

We are only deceived by the literary form which justifies every maxim, every action of daily life, by the example of the Prophet.

The Arabs simply accommodated themselves to the civilization they found in existence. But how did this come about? The explanation of the unity of Islamic civilization lies essentially in the world-historic fact of Hellenism. It sounds strange that, without Alexander the Great, there would have been no Islamic civilization.¹

Our knowledge of the influence of Hellenism in India and in Central Asia gives us a fairly accurate idea of the strength of the fusion of culture in Western Asia during the period of the Diadochi. I will not venture to discuss² the question whether the so-called 'old Oriental Civilization'

¹ Walker, Greek History, 93-95. Tr.

² Thesis of Hugo Winckler.

was quite as universal as the Islamic Civilization; but striking is the powerful unity of the Western Asiatic Civilization after the time of the Diadochi.

Indeed, the separation into two Empires—the Roman and the Parthian—as later, into the Byzantine and the Sassanide—led afresh to a great cleavage. The Roman Orient naturally received a strong Western colour and complexion; while, in the East, Hellenism was lost more and more in Asiaism.

But from the third century of the Christian era—nay even earlier still—we observe a steady Asiatization of the Roman Orient and a growing adaptation of the Byzantine to the Sassanide model.

We stand here face to face with a great movement—reacting on Hellenism in Asia and on the Roman world-empire. The frontier between the East and the West becomes more and more unstable. Even the political frame-work in the end totters to its foundation in the continual wars between Persia and Byzantium. The campaigns of Khosroes II and Heraclius have, in their own way, the same significance as those of Alexander the Great—at least as regards the restoration of a uniform, though a mixed civilization.

In Aramaic Christianity¹ we have the completest manifestation of the variegated cultural mixture of Western Asia. Not merely in its vocabulary, but in its entire phraseology, we notice a rare mixture of the Semitic, Greek, and Persian elements. Their Church organization also formed, so to speak, an important bridge over which the gulf, interposed by political barriers, was easily crossed for matters cultural.

Despite countless foreign influences and considerable intermingling of races, the Arabs constituted an ethnic unity which likewise reacted upon external influences.

It is well-known that the Arab conquest only met with

¹ Becker, *Christianity and Islam*, pp. 42 et seqq. (Eng. Tr.)

serious resistance where it encountered national, indigenous forces, such as in Persia and North Africa.

We know from the researches of Fraenkel and Nöldeke¹ how dependent the Arabs were in Pre-Islamic times on Aramaic Civilization. After the conquest of Western Asia things continued as before—only the Aramaic Civilization was accepted *in extenso*; nay, it was continued and developed. Of a certain purely Arab impress we have already spoken. But we would form a very wrong impression of Islamic civilization were we simply to put it down as Aramaic *plus* Arab. For the earliest times it is so. In fact, the most important basis of Islamic Civilization is Aramaic, but only a basis. Islamic civilization is a further development of the Aramaic, and in the same direction in which the Aramaic Civilization had developed up to the seventh century.

In the last century before Mohamed the development of Western Asia lay more and more in its Asiatization. The centre of gravity of the dominating civilization shifts more and more from the Mediterranean to inner Asia. This process *continues uninterrupted in the Islamic Empire*. The explanation is obvious. It lies not in the Religion of Islam but in the world-historic fact of the State-unity of Western Asia.

Despite political divisions—despite the political gravitation of Western Asia towards the West—a cultural unity had hitherto developed. Now, suddenly, vast provinces, with the Persian Empire, were welded into a unity. This position of affairs, while checking the inflow of Roman and Greek, removed all barriers against Asiatic influences. This historic aspect was, indeed, neither apparent to the Arabs nor to the Aramaeans. Thus, during the whole of the Omayyad period, even the capital continued to remain on the edge of the Empire.

¹ Fraenkel, *Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*.

To fortuitous causes and to the importance of the Arab element in the beginning Damascus owed its importance. But, during the ascendancy of Damascus, the economic and cultural superiority of Iraq became more and more unmistakable, and the transfer of the capital to Baghdad was the clearest proof of this inevitability of the development indicated above. Henceforth the Caliphate is naught but a continuation of Chosroism, on a broader political basis.

Thus it is but natural that the civilization of the Caliphate should show more and more distinct Persian traits. Nor is it surprising that in its historic development it should also come under the influences of Central Asia, Turkistan, nay, even China.

The civilization of the Caliphate is not merely Aramaic nor yet purely Persian, but, all this notwithstanding, it is a clearly circumscribed unity based upon a unit-State.

And, as this State was an Islamic State, we are justified in speaking of the Islamic civilization.

Consider, now, the cultural consequences of this unit-State. I have often emphasised in my earlier works how much everything among the Arabs remained as it had been for ages. No less importance must be attached to the fact of political unity, which, despite local independence, effected a great and increasing fusion.

This happened first in spheres economic. The old customs-barriers remained, but trade—that great distributor of culture—now penetrated into quite other regions. The old exchange marts, on the former frontiers, henceforth became transit-stations. Merchants merely paid tolls, and proceeded. To this practice refers the expression, so often used in traditions: *Marra bil-‘āshir*.

With the development of commerce grew capitalistic enterprises, involving immense speculations, and huge undertakings which, like a network, covered the whole empire in the golden days of the Caliphate.

Above all, by the extension of the local form of worship to the entire empire, the State itself developed a cultural stir and ferment such as was simply unthinkable before the establishment of the Caliphate.

For details I refer the reader to Ernst Herzfeld,¹ with whom I entirely concur.

Herzfeld has shown in the *Origin of Islamic Art*, how powerfully economic forces have promoted the unity of Islamic civilization. And precisely the same is the case in the sphere spiritual. Here, however, the interchange of ideas does not begin until economic and political forces have had their effect. The new religious unity then serves as a powerful cement between the self-subsisting independent races included in the new State.

Like the political dividing wall, that of religion too—powerful in the past—now totters to its foundation.

Once Islam as a religion attains to power such as we have described, and assimilates the entire spiritual heritage of the earlier religions, 'the search after tradition' (*Talab-al-Hadith*), as Goldziher shows, becomes an exceedingly important factor in the establishment of a new Islamized spiritual unity.

From the Atlantic Ocean to China a uniform religious learning—leavened by Aristotelian theories—fused with other spiritual inheritances—spreads within and even beyond the empire—as far as Lob-Nor and Lake Tsad.

A special result of the State-unit was that countries outside the sphere of Aramaic civilization—*e.g.*, Persia, Egypt, Africa—now contribute their share to this unity. Even when these countries part with the Caliphate and become separated as they were before, an ideal unity and exchange of thought still continue—although countries like Spain and Iran show a strong impress of their own.

¹ See *Islam*, I, p. 60.

Thus from the Aramaic sea—with the powerful confluence of manifold tributaries—originated the great ocean of Islamic civilization.

Now begins the religious interpenetration, which, in course of development, becomes the characteristic of this new unity. I need not repeat what I have already said about the expansion of Islamic religion. The preaching of Mohamed is not the only cause of this clericalization. It is connected with many other older tendencies—with Christian clericalism and the Persian State-Church. The victory of the *Khilafat* of the Abbasids over the *kingship* of the Omayyads was not merely a victory of the religious idea of Mohamed over the temporal tendencies of the Mekkan aristocracy, but it was, at the same time, the victory of the Persian and Christian State-Church. Indeed, it was the victory of the very ancient religious conception of the old Orient over the religious indifference of the purely worldly empire of the Arabs. The name of Islam remains, but its contents are entirely different.

Now Islam becomes an amalgam of religion, State-ideal, and civilization—capable of a world-mission.

Although, in later times, national State-Churches, on territorial bases, arise, such as the Persian Shia'ism; although separate rites and sects come into being and separatistic and atavistic tendencies manifest themselves in the creation of religious orders; although the far-flung lands of Chinese Islam are unable to resist the overwhelming surrounding influences of national culture—yet the *one outstanding fact of a great Islamic unity* stands out in bold relief—becoming more and more pronounced and emphatic as against advancing Europe.

This unity presents itself to us in the powerful rules of conduct of the *Shariah*.

It is now interesting to see how the religion which owed its expansion to forces already mentioned, continues, nay even

augments in strength, when the forces that brought it to the fore-front have paled and faded.

Out of the unit-State was evolved the *ideal* of the unit-State. It has been generally assumed that this ideal was evolved from real or hypothetical conditions prevailing in the golden age of the orthodox Caliphs. This view I reject. The features ascribed to the orthodox Caliphs are mere borrowings from the Caliphate of the Omayyads and the Abbasids. But it will be readily conceded that these views, developing in opposition to the Omayyads, were moulded into shape under the tutelage of the Abbasids, who identified themselves with the *régime* of the orthodox Caliphs. It was the ideal of the unit-State which compelled the later Sultans to receive investiture from the shadowy Caliphs. After the early days of Islam religious ideals are subordinated to political ideas. Under the Abbasids every effort is made to develop and diffuse the religious idea of the State in the interest of temporal power. The Sultans could not but reckon with it. And though the religious character of the Caliphate pales more and more—yet even to-day Muslim rulers love to call themselves ‘Caliphs.’

More important even than the State-ideal is the ideal of life and culture—closely intertwined with religion—as it stands before us in Islamic law. This ideal is the canonized and theorized practice of that golden age which fitted in with the atmosphere prevailing already before Islam.

But when, without State support, Islam, in later centuries, travelled in the wake of commerce beyond the frontiers of the Caliphate, merely as a religion and a civilization, the ideals of conduct stood in precisely the same relations as did State ideals towards the sorrowful conditions of the times.

Thus arose the well-known¹ contrast between religious demands and popular traditions—between *Shariah* and ‘*Āda*.

¹ Cf. the numerous works of Snouck Hurgronje.

If, in the country where it arose, the *Shariah* was more an ideal than a practical guide of life, in foreign countries it became nothing more or less than an ideal, pure and simple. Only the religious portion of the *Shariah* received actual acceptance, or continued to be a working reality. Thus, at the present moment, it is the religious element in Islam which has become really powerful. The actual cohesion of the Muslims all over the world *rests to-day on a common faith and a common ideal*.

In primitive countries, even to-day, the amazing expansion of Islam is due to the union of religion with the forces making for culture and State-building which the conception of Islam implies. The uniting-bond is religion, but the *national* and *liberal* movements of the day have already begun to weaken it.

Islam, indeed, is not so simple a structure as it is frequently represented to be.

With a geographical slogan, that Islam is merely the offspring of the vegetation of the steppes, we may perplex a lay mind; but, for others, such a theory will only show that the great historical phenomenon has not been rightly conceived or understood. Nor is the view which sets Islam down as 'the culture of the Arabs' any nearer to a historical understanding of the problem before us. Nor yet, finally, can mere reference to the Qur'an and the life of the Prophet solve the Islamic problems of the day.

As these ideas have, till very recently, received the widest diffusion, not, in vain, I trust, have I attempted to indicate the main outline of Islamic development.

However much of subjective and hypothetical there may be in this sketch, it rests, in the main, on well-authenticated facts.

May further researches—if necessary—alter or modify its conclusions, or if correct, deepen and enrich them with yet greater details.

S. KHUDA BUKHSI

THE MESSAGE

When the wheel of thy life lay broken,
And thy enemy rushed for the prize,
Did'st thou glance in the void for a token
Of our earth—of the meek tear's size?

The billows of dark fate were sundered,
And thou counted'st the heart-beats of Time,
And thou sawest many earth-lives plundered
Of the hopes and joys of their prime.

When the stars were crooning o'er their rhymes
And rocking their Night babe to sleep,
Wert thou awake and dreaming of old times,
And thy spirit came stalking o'er the deep,

To nestle once more by our side,
To give us a message of the morn,
When the sky would for ever abide
In the glow of the sunlight just born.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

PASCAL'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

Pascal ! What does the name mean to us ? Possibly it suggests the familiar ring of that school-day caption, Pascal's Law ; and after a trip to the bookshelf we can confidently affirm that "external pressure is transmitted by fluids in all directions without change in the intensity." If we are scientists, the name will most likely suggest genius of the first rank : brilliant discoveries in geometry, and experiments in hydrostatics and pneumatics like those of Boyle and Torricelli. If we are philosophers, we may remember that in the history of Western thought the name of Pascal holds a place of honour between the mighty names of Descartes and Spinoza, coupled with the doctrine of scepticism. But if we are familiar with Pascal's life, and his final work, "Thoughts on Religion" (Tr. by E. Bickersteth, Lon., 1847), we know that his science and his scepticism are only the two preparatory terms of a profound triad culminating in mysticism.

This triad of reason, doubt, and faith characterizes the whole of his life. It appears most simply in his scientific method disclosed in the little work, "The Spirit of Geometry." Geometry, he says, is the most exact of all the sciences. Yet it is not complete. Men are naturally and immutably impotent to put any of the sciences in absolutely complete order. Geometry is a tightly closed system in which all propositions are proved by previous propositions or definitions, and no term is used that has not been defined. Thus the whole structure rests on the primary definitions. So far does reason lead us. But it can lead no further, for the very definitions are arbitrary, and necessarily so. Such first principles or axioms as space, time, motion, number, matter and equality strictly speaking

cannot be defined ; for since definitions in geometry are not results but only assumptions, they beg the question, and if they are taken as expressing the essence of reality, they only becloud the meanings commonly accepted in actual life. Definitions, then, are nothing but names used for brevity and facility to designate the unknowable principles that lie behind them. Reason is thus limited. But faith comes to the rescue. Although the principles designated by definition are indefinable by reason, they are nevertheless clear and constant to everyone by natural enlightenment. In giving all of us similar *intuitive* conceptions, nature keeps us from confusion. We must not say that reason can prove everything, nor yet that it can prove nothing. The middle ground is best : the chain of reasoning we develop from the commonly accepted ideas yields truth indeed, but only a limited truth.

Pascal carried the same method into metaphysics, the domain of human knowledge in general. Reason is valid as far as it goes, but it stops short of ultimate reality. Beyond its natural limitation we must be sceptical of thought—admit its inability. But just as truths in geometry may be generally accepted, clear and distinct, without admitting formal proof, so in life there are truths that must be accepted on faith. Man is a finite creature suspended in the mass of matter allotted him by nature, suspended between the two abysses of the infinitely great and the infinitely small. Men are aware of their own petty affairs and interrelations, their daily struggle with nature to keep alive, their little imperfect sphere of thought, the rise and fall of their deep-felt hope and fear. So far reason is valid. But on one side man sees the vast multitude of stars, and is thereby led to recognize that the visible world is but an imperceptible point on the ample bosom of nature in the contemplation of which imagination utterly loses itself. On the other side let him divide a natural body till he reaches the minutest atom ; in this atom, be it known, there are an infinity of worlds ! *Man is in the midst of nature*

infinitely far from either end. His conceptual knowledge tells him nothing of the ultimates of his being. And further, since in the total system of relations parts cannot be known without the whole any more than the whole can be known without the parts, man cannot be sure he knows even what he thought he knew—his finite concerns. "We burn with a desire to find a firm seat, and ultimate constant basis, in order to build upon it a tower that shall reach to the infinite; but our whole foundation cracks, and the earth opens to the abyss." Reason has failed. But here again faith comes to the rescue. The infinite unknowable end, she sturdily declares, is God. The infinitesimal end also is God. "The extremes touch and unite by reason of their remoteness from each other, and are found in God—in God only." Illumined by faith, the remote and bewildering end sought in vain by knowledge is now revealed as the all-embracing realm of personal trust.

The same method is carried into ethics. Man knows that he is miserable. He is not able to cure death, misery, or even ignorance. It is not necessary for the entire universe to arm itself to crush him: a breath of gas, a drop of liquid suffices to kill him. Reason guides him on a little way above the brutes. Moreover, reason cannot tell him why he lies in such a state: its words only bring him greater unhappiness. Man is more miserable just because he knows he is so. Reason alone is a guide to misery, and a blind guide. But here again faith removes the difficulties. When through faith in a power above him man realizes and confesses his weakness, then this void of weakness becomes the capacity for true greatness, and immediately opens to receive the inflow of power. Man is lost if he presumes he is naturally strong; lost also if he remains in a state of confessed weakness. God alone can overcome both presumption and inertia.

This philosophy of faith, according to Pascal, resolves the opposition of the two persistent types of philosophy that have ever divided the allegiance of the natural mind between them:

(1) the Stoic worship of duty based on reason, and (2) the Epicurean worship of pleasure based on scepticism. Blaise Pascal's early life flourished under the ideal of the sufficiency of reason. He was born at Clermont in Auvergne, France, in 1623, while Descartes was a young man. His mother died when he was still an infant, leaving him to the stern care of his father Etienne, a grave man of affairs and a cultured Stoic philosopher who encouraged his son to think independently. When the family removed to Rouen, Blaise helped his father in a task worthy of the patient and hard-working Stoic emperor Marcus Aurelius—the task of collecting taxes; and he performed his duties with such mathematical ingenuity that to relieve himself of the drudgery of computation he invented a calculating machine! Along with his work he plunged into the study of mathematics, in spite of his father's conviction that language should be the first study. He also delved into the writings of his father's favourite philosopher, the Stoic Epictetus. At the age of eighteen he fell victim to a chronic illness, and at twenty-four suffered an attack of paralysis. "His ill health was mainly, if not wholly, occasioned by his devotion to study, and of him it was literally true that his mind consumed his body."

Dissatisfied with this rational machine-like existence, he went over to the opposite camp by living a gay life in Paris in the centre of literary and polite society, loved and admired by a wide circle of friends, and reading the scepticism of Montaigne. Although Montaigne urged obedience to duty and divine commands, he offered neither the rational sanction of the Stoic nor any adequate one of his own. Thus in practice as well as in theory Pascal came to know on the one hand the way of reason dear to Epictetus, holding to a God of sovereign good naturally and immediately apprehended by the reason of man, and on the other hand the way of scepticism rebuilt by Montaigne, holding that God and the true good are uncertain.

In this dilemma, at the age of thirty-two, Pascal gives free reign to his strongly surging religious impulse, and follows his sister Jacqueline into the austere life of Port Royal, a religious community which had obtained from the Pope the privilege of receiving lay persons, who without taking monastic vows might live in religious retirement. Perhaps the oppressive melancholy of a secret and hopeless love had some influence in leading him to take this step. Perhaps a sharp stimulus came in the shock of his father's death, or his own escape from an appalling death in a spectacular runaway accident. But he joined Port Royal chiefly because it was the centre of the Jansenist movement in which he had developed an earnest sympathy. Jansenism protested against the current practices in administering the sacraments, and opposed the government; but to Pascal these tenets were but incidental. What attracted him, and satisfied his acute and restless mind was its doctrine of the irresistible grace of God.

At Port Royal *he found in the Gospel the solution of the problem of life*. Here, at the age of thirty-seven, in an effort to defend the Church from the attacks of her enemies within her gates, he wrote his famous "Provincial Letters" (Thoughts, Letters, Opuscles, tr. by O. W. Wight, N. Y., 1859), a lucid and merciless exposure of the Jesuit system of casuistry culminating in the doctrine of Probabilism. Four years later, serene in mind and tortured in body, he set out to defend the Church from her foreign enemies, by elaborating a constructive work in the form of an apology for the benefit of atheists. His love of perfection delayed the product, and he died, a young man, before it was complete; but the fragments were afterwards published under the title of "Thoughts on Religion," which we shall now continue to investigate.

The way of reason, declares Pascal, leads to magnificence, pride, and presumption, for man thinks that by his very nature, however unregenerate his life, he is a part of God, and knows everything; the way of scepticism leads to infirmity,

impotence, and laxity, for man without the assurance of God regards his state as uncertain and irreparable. These two philosophies can neither subsist alone because of their defects nor unite because of their opposition, for they are irreconcilable. Each is right only in pointing out the faults of the other. Natural man cannot at once be both great and infirm.

The philosophy of faith presented in the Gospel unites what is true in both, and rejects what is false. It wisely places infirmity in man's original nature, and greatness in God's redeeming grace. In the death of Christ, the Man God, we see that man is so potentially great and good that he is worth the death of a God, and yet so potentially infirm and evil that only a divine remedy can cure him. Epictetus troubles the repose of those who seek satisfaction in external things, Montaigne confounds the pride of those who seek it in themselves, and thus both philosophers lead mankind to the Gospel which reconciles the ideas of human power and human need by uniting us with God through love. Then only are we able to see things from the inside instead of travelling over the outside by way of reason through the ever present contradictions of natural life. We are great and good, yes—but only through God's ineffable and regenerative grace.

Thus the drama of human effort is a trilogy of science, scepticism, and salvation. Reason runs on till it meets the dread and open spaces of uncertainty ; at times, in scepticism, it wavers faintly on the brink ; at times it plunges vainly and presumptuously into the great unknown. But faith takes reason by the hand, removes the scales from his eyes, and shows him instead of vague and empty space the assuring grace and purpose of God. Rationalism, then, is limited ; scepticism notes its limits ; both together are insufficient. "It is necessary," declares Pascal, "to have three qualities : those of the pyrrhonist, the geometrician, and the humble Christian. These unite with and attemper one another, so that we doubt when we should, we aim at certainty when we should, and we

submit when we should." There are "two excesses : to exclude reason, and to admit reason alone... Faith tells us what the senses do not tell us, but not the contrary to what they see ; it is above, and not in opposition to them."

Thus Pascal's whole life of thought and action depends on faith in God. But what is this faith ? Is it any more than a hopeless scepticism covering her nakedness with the garb of conventional piety ? If reason fails, how can faith succeed ? Some of Pascal's successors indeed regard his faith as a blot on his philosophy. Leibnitz complains of " Pascal's Roman prejudices " ; Cousin avers, " His faith is an unbelief only half conquered." And what is this God, the object of his faith ? Is it merely a name for an unknown, an unknown shaped and adorned by the reasonless optimism of heart's desire ? The answer is that Pascal's faith rests no more on scepticism than it does on reason. If scepticism applies to " any system whose dominant interest is that of doubt," Pascal is no sceptic. His scepticism, like that of Berkeley, is merely passing and instrumental, used as a crowbar to pry atheists out of their indolence and mocking security. Himself an eminent scientist, he accepted the validity of the results of reason and research as fully as any rationalist. He simply avoided the mistake of making pompous claims for the power of reason beyond the capacity of science itself to justify. God, he says, is served by rational men with all their heart because they know Him, or sought by them with all their heart because they do not know Him.

But if Pascal's acceptance of the validity of the results of reason acquits him of indulgence in a faith based on mere ignorance, it seems to convict him of dualism. If reason and faith both give us reality, how do we know they give us the same reality ? The reality of science we know—but what is this reality of faith ? Are there two Gods, one for the metaphysician, and the other for the churchman ? The answer is that to Pascal faith is not essentially belief in a creed : neither an authoritarian standard to be clung to in spite of reason, nor yet

mere emotional stuffing to fill up reason's gaps. *Faith is the bedrock upon which reason itself is built.* Thus is the dualism resolved. The validity of science rests on the faith that reality is not indifferent or malignant, but fundamentally good. In other words, Pascal holds that a personal God is a scientific postulate; and the God of religious faith is identical with the God of scientific research.

Pascal was born into an age of dualism. In philosophy, Descartes had clearly formulated the sharp distinction between matter and spirit; in theology, the Catholic Church, with its cumulative grandeur and authority, supported the distinction between the natural and the supernatural; to this must be added Pascal's own experience of a life of pleasure opposed by a life of rigour. Hence the dualistic jangle of his words. But if we strip off the wrappings of by-gone terminology, we shall find the substantial treasure of his philosophy intensely and comprehensively monistic. We may see more in detail how he heals the stubborn dualism of his day if we compare him with other great modern philosophers.

Francis Bacon and Pascal both make a sharp distinction between science and religion. In science, first principles must be submitted to the test of reason and experiment; in religion, they are established by authority. God is revealed both by the light of nature and the inspiration of the saintly mind. But Bacon keeps his religion shut up in an air-tight compartment. "As we are obliged to obey divine law though our wills murmur against it, so we are obliged to believe in the word of God though our reason is shocked at it. The more absurd and incredible any divine mystery is, the greater honour we do God in believing it." Pascal, on the contrary, finds a vital connection between science and religion. The very contemplation of the world of nature throws him back on the God of religion to subdue the fear which the thought of the immensity and uncertainty of the world kindles within him. The God of science is the God of religion.

Both Descartes and Pascal hold that God through nature is the source of the fundamental principles of natural science. But to Descartes, God is a barren concept signifying the order and totality of a system of ideas and experience, called forth as a "clear and distinct idea" to dispel doubt and sanction science. "By nature in general I simply mean God Himself or the order and disposition instituted by Him in created things." In opposition to this virtual denial of God, Pascal repeatedly declares, "I cannot pardon Descartes; he would very much like in all his philosophy to dispense with God; but he has not been able to escape according Him a fillip to put the world in motion; after that he has nothing more to do with God." Pascal realizes that to take a scientific system or a mythical First-cause and label them separately or together with the religious term God is to invite an obscure dualistic struggle between the "old faith" and the "new learning" for the possession of the body of truth. God to him is neither the scientific system itself nor the original "fillip," but the eternal *ground* of the system, the active, living power speaking to each individual through nature and enabling men to understand one another, the source of all the undemonstrable yet clear and certain axioms of faith on which reason rests when weary. The God of science is the God of practical life.

Both Kant and Pascal see in God the power that equates virtue and happiness. Kant takes the moral law as basic, and only then proceeds to assume or postulate God in order to guarantee its blessed issue. Startling, original, and fruitful as this typical stroke of German genius may be, its rationalistic cart-before-the-horseness not only leads to hopeless legalism and rigourism in the realm of ethics, but also introduces dualism by calling a rationalistic set of concepts the law, and a pietistic set of concepts the law's policeman. But Pascal with characteristic French directness sees that God is virtue's guarantor of happiness precisely because He Himself is both the Highest Virtue and the Highest Happiness, not an arbitrary enforcer of

the law, but its source and goal. "Happiness is neither entirely out of us nor entirely in us; it is in God—both out of us and in us." The God of ethics is the God of religion.

Jacobi and Pascal are much alike. Both agree that philosophy must rest on faith, as rationalism is limited to mere finite or groundless proof. Now Jacobi's insistence on the immediate and subjective certainty of freedom, the objective world and God, given directly by an inner faculty called faith or intuitive reason is a gesture of rebellion against a contemporary oppressive rationalism. However true this discovery may be, his romantic method of *slamming* rationalism instead of cultivating its virtues is a method that results in a dualism between faith and reason. But while Pascal, as a profound mystic, knows God as an inner reality perhaps even more vividly than Jacobi, he reaches that position by plodding along the path of reason till it loses itself in faith. The finite variables of mathematics, as we know, are always "approaching infinity," but never arriving: well, this infinity is one with the infinite God of religion. Likewise, our knowledge in all subjects runs off into the limitless, and there God is found. The God of metaphysics is the God of religion.

The extremes of the infinite and the infinitesimal, says Pascal, "touch and unite by reason of their remoteness from each other, and are found in God." The extremely great and extremely small are infinite—herein are they one. This infinity suggests exhaustless resource and spontaneity. Likewise "the authority of the Scriptures and the Fathers" leads us to certain individuals gifted as to time and place and character whose words and deeds expressed in a finite setting also suggest exhaustless resource and spontaneity. Thus both science and faith come to rest in the idea of a boundless, creative reality. This reality supplies principles of nature that are neither wilfully opposed to man nor chaotically baffling, but uniformly dependable. These principles science utilises for human good. The

fact that science transforms nature into human good is a postulate of the ultimate goodness of the reality behind nature and man. But a good reality, boundless and creative, is to be called *God*. Similarly, the exhaustless resource tapped by the religious genius is available through faith for human good: whence the common conviction that the saint reveals *God*. Combining these two experiences, we find that the God beyond the telescope and the microscope is identical with the God that wells up from the depths of the human heart.

God is brought from the realm of thought to the sphere of human activity by the religious genius, and especially by Jesus. "Jesus Christ is the object of all, and the center whither all tends. Whoever knows him knows the reason of all things. We can then indeed know God without knowing misery, and our misery without knowing God, but we cannot know Jesus Christ without knowing both God and our misery." In the finite life, man finds himself standing as a middle term between the grace of God and his sinful physical nature. If this finite condition were all, here were dualism indeed! But by very definition, the finite is not all—it is not the infinite. Man is not fixed; he may progress—nay, his continuous renewal is God's very will! As the eternal grace of God flows into his opening heart, the sinful nature is broken up into its elements, and remade after the satisfactory pattern sponsored by infinity. Here is monism.

The infinitely great, then, touches and unites with the infinitely small in the infinite God. But of course these extremes are already united through the middle terms of humanity in our every-day life of finite thought and practice. Thus the two arcs become a circle, and we should expect the infinite God that envelops the unknown to envelop also the known, to be ready and eager to break into our finite experience. Faith, we should suppose, is not complete unless the infinite God of the thinker and the saint is also the intimate possession of the worshipper. Just so did Pascal's faith culminate in mysticism,

in the ecstasy of illumination revealing the immediate oneness of the individual soul with cosmic reality :

" Fire—

God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob—

Not of ' philosophers and savants '—

Certainty, joy—certainty, feeling, peace, joy!

* * * *

Forgetfulness of the world and of everything save God ;

He is only found by the way taught in the Gospel ! "

WENDELL M. THOMAS, JR.

STARLIGHT AT NARA

The moonlight lies like snow upon the path
The tall elms, weeping, struggle with the wind
Only the light-filled *shoji* in yon house
grin cheerily.

Flickering afar, I hail you, lantern man.
Your swinging burden comes unsteadily—
Hei-ho, hei-ho—
Sped by the wind you blow
Into eternity.

H. M. BRATTER

SARACENIC COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY¹

In dealing with this subject every student of Saracenic history is struck with the paucity of materials, in a remarkable degree. The Arab historians failed to have noticed the growth or decline of material conditions of the people whose politics only had for them a strange fascination. Greater emphasis on the importance of the life hereafter may probably have been the reason for this deficiency of Arabic History. This is further evidenced by the fact that many of those historians were theologians as well, who necessarily hopelessly mixed up the historical issues with theological interpretations. Hence the human side of history was lost sight of. We have been disappointed even by an historian like Ibn Khaldun, who may be said to be the first founder of historical philosophy or philosophy of history which he himself characterised as a 'New Science' and thus he anticipated Vico,—the author of '*Nouva Scienza*'—three centuries before. But Khaldun has not systematically dealt with the material conditions of the races, although he attributed economic causes to the rise and fall of nations and to racial differences prevalent in different regions of the world. That does not serve our purpose in building up a consistent economic history of the Saracens whose industrial and commercial success was as glorious as it was brief.

The field of my survey extends from Mecca, the emporium of pre-Islamic Economic activity, to Cordova, the Queen of Mediaeval cities, through Damascus, the flower of fine arts and delicate manufactures of the Ommiads and Baghdad, the mother of Abbasid luxuries. Indeed the centre of economic activity of the Saracens shifted with the constant shifting of the centre of political gravity which culminated

¹ Read to the Historical Association of Dacca University, February, 1926.

soon in the utter extinction of the Saracenic power and in the final break-up of the Islamic Commonwealth for which the Prophet fought so hard, worked so untiringly, thought so intensively, warned his *Ummats* (Followers) so severely and framed so rigid a constitution as a safeguard against future disorder. But the future has falsified the hope of the Prophet as we will find following the course of the spread of Islam from Mecca to Cordova.

Before I set forth the achievements of the Arabs under the banner of Islam in the domain of commerce and industry it is necessary for me to see what had been the achievements of their pre-Islamic forefathers. History tells us that the part the ancient Arabs of pre-Islamic period played in commerce and industry was splendid. "That they had made very considerable progress in agriculture and their chief occupation was commerce is certain,"¹ so says, Dr. Crichton. The Arabs were the first navigators of their own seas and first carriers of oriental produce. Sabaea, Oman and Hadramaut were the residence of merchants from the very dawn of civilisation. They had frequented the ports of the Red Sea, crossed the Persian Gulf, and with the aid of the monsoons visited the coasts of India long before these regions were known to the nations of Europe. Moses speaks of cinnamon, cassia, myrrh and other aromatics appropriated to religious uses.² Even in his time the communication was opened between India and Arabia. It was to this source that ancient Egypt owed its wealth and splendour. Thebes and Memphis traded with the Arabs and were celebrated as mercantile cities more than 1,000 years before the foundation of Cairo, or Alexandria. In the hands of Solomon the traffic of the Red Sea produced a revenue equivalent to £3½ millions³; and at the period when the Romans invaded the East, this

¹ Crichton : History of the Arabian People, p. 126. (1856).

² Exodus XXX, 22-25.

³ Kings X, 14.

lucrative monopoly was exercised by the Sabaeans, whose marts they found richly stored with all the precious commodities of India. The extensive trade of Saba or Yemen is well spoken of by many writers. The portrait of Tyre drawn by Ezekiel¹ indicates the mercantile activity which the universal intercourse of nations must have created in the seas and harbours of Arabia in those days.

Job alludes to the pearls and rubies, the precious onyx, the sapphire, the coral and the topaz. Diodorus considered the happy Arabians so immensely opulent that all the treasures of the world seemed to centre there as in one universal mart. Agatharcides has given a singular picture of oriental trade as it stood in the reign of Ptolemy Philomater before 200 B.C. At that time Arabia was the medium of communication between India and Egypt and it was in her ports that the Greeks were wont to purchase their cargoes. Saba abounded with such production as could make life happy and gay in the extreme. The land yielded not merely the usual commodities, balm and cassia, incense, myrrh and cinnamon were of common growth. The trees wept odorous gums. They cooked their victuals with scented woods. In their expensive habits they rivalled the magnificence of princes. Their houses were decorated with pillars glistening with gold and silver. Their doors were of ivory, crowned with vases and studded with jewels. In furniture, beds and various household embellishments they far surpassed anything that Europeans ever beheld. Strabo and Diodorus both have spoken of abundance of gold and silver—silver being ten times more valuable than gold.

With regard to the exports of the Ancient Arabs, these consisted chiefly of the productions of their own soil, their mines and their forests and those articles carried by their vessels from India and the Far East. The list of exports is

¹ Chapter XXVII (Ezekiel).

simply overwhelming. They were gold, silver, iron, lead, tin, brass, ivory, tortoise shell, flint glass, carved images, javelins, hatchets, adzes, knives, awls or bodkins, cloths of various kinds, military cloaks, tartans, dyed mantles for the Berberine markets in the African ports of the Red Sea: fine muslins, silks, linens, quilts or coverlids, manufactured at *Moosa*: coarse cottons, girdles, long sashes, dyed rings made at *Arsinœ* (Suez); Chinese furs and female dresses of every description. Of gums, spices and gems, the varieties were numerous: cinnamon, ginger, cassia of which ten sorts are specified in the *Periplus*; honey, spikenard, sugar, pepper, stibium for tinging the eyelids black and storax, one of the most agreeable of the odoriferous resins. The apes and peacocks mentioned in Scriptures, as well as many other spices and precious stones, included in the list, were undoubtedly the produce of India. Among the principal articles of native growth must be ranked the incense so famous in all antiquity. The Arabs had monopoly of this article. The terror of serpents and of the offended divinities was probably the invention of the Arabs to protect their commerce from foreign intrusion and to frighten away the strangers from the places where the balm trees grew.

This list of exports indicates clearly that Arabia was the natural centre of all the traffic between India, Far East, Africa and the Mediterranean countries of Europe. Mecca was the great centre for collecting exportable products of Yemen. On the western shore of the Red Sea the chief marts were *Arsinœ*, *Myos Hormus*, *Berenice*, *Ptolemais*, *Theron* and *Adulis*. It was in the two latter ports that the hunters of Ptolemy procured elephants for his army. On the Arabian coast, the harbours most frequented were *Ælana* or Elion-gaber; *Leukêkomê*, where the Romans in the time of Augustus had a garrison; *Moosa*, which was the great entrepôt for the native products of Arabia; *Ocelis* in the time of Pliny was the most celebrated for the merchandise of India. Aden was

the ancient centre of traffic between India and the Red Sea. The ships from the East being too large to pass through the straits, landed their cargoes here. *Gherra* was the most celebrated mart on the Persian Gulf.

But the commerce of the Arabs was not wholly confined to these maritime ports only. It was diverted to various other directions overland across the Arabian peninsula, which had been traversed by numerous caravans connecting distant countries with Arabia and her ports. The caravan conductors known as the Gherreans crossed the desert to Bosra, Damascas and Petra and furnished various articles to the Tyrians and the Phœnicians who commanded the trade of Egypt and the Mediterranean. Of these caravan traders of Arabia the Quraish were early distinguished for their mercantile enterprise. It is believed they used to undertake journeys of about 70 days from Elana to the region of incense. Their camels travelled to Sanaa and returned with the precious cargoes of *Moosa* and *Aden* which they exchanged for grains and provisions in the Syrian markets. The central position of their home was advantageous to their enterprising spirit. Foreign merchants also appear to have brought their native products to Mecca during the annual festivals. This has been referred to by Agatharcides and Diodorus as an annual fair frequented by foreign nations for trade.

It is in this commercial environment of Mecca that the Prophet of Arabia was born and naturally with all the instinct, enterprising spirit and love for commerce. He came only to remind the Arabs of their past glory and achievements which were almost forgotten, by the time he was born. Because for several centuries preceding his birth, Mecca, rather the whole of Arabia, was lulled to silence and inactivity which degraded the Arabs and their degradation called for the advent of a Prophet. Political circumstances of the time, the gradual decline and fall of the nations with whom the Arabs had

traded, the change of climate,¹ the vanity and complacency of luxuries, had all contributed to the fall of Mecca and the centre of commercial activity shifted from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean Sea. The Phœnicians declined and Egypt rose. Alexandria became the entrepôt of oriental trade. The Romans conquered it and hankered after its luxuries that used, Pliny says, to drain annually £ 400,000 of Rome. Rome also fell and the eastern trade reverted to the Saracens, now under the banner of Islam and with them it might have still remained had not Gama arisen to double the cape of storms and effect a total revolution in the whole commercial system of the world. The total eclipse of the Roman power almost synchronised with the ascendancy of the Saracens; while on the other hand the "fall of Rome" in 476 A.D. marked the beginning of the so-called darkness of the mediæval Europe, the monotony of which was only dispelled by the great movement of the crusades in the two centuries following 1100 A.D. The motives to commerce grew weaker as Roman culture disappeared—roads and bridges deteriorated; the course of rivers was obstructed. Brigandage and piracy were the order of the day. Even a great ruler like Charlemagne—"Karl the great" (800 A.D.) could do little to stay the progress of this decline, although he encouraged education, agriculture and manufacture. At such a time there arose the voice of the Desert to break the lull and slumber of the darkened world of commerce and industry. Designed for a mercantile career, the orphan boy of Abdullah, was given such instructions as were likely to be suitable to his career. At the age of 13, he made a commercial journey to Syria in the caravan of his uncle, Abu Talib. Soon after, his probity and talents for business, much of which he inherited, introduced him to the acquaintance of Khadija who appointed him as a factor to superintend her

¹ Huntington: Pulse of Asia.

business. In that capacity he went to Syria again and effected large sales. He never regarded it reproachful, servile or dishonourable to prosecute commerce. He considered it as a lucrative profession in which the noblest and the bravest were engaged. So we find him in the Quran emphasising on commerce as of God. The Quran says: "*Rabbakumul lazi lakumul fulka fil bahre latabtagu fadhlihi innahu kana bikum Raheema.*" "Your Lord is He who speeds the Ships for you in the Sea that you may seek His Grace; surely He is merciful to you" (*Sura XVII*, 66-67).

Thoroughly experienced in commercial affairs and fully convinced of the benefits of commerce as he was, Muhammad could inspire his followers and his countrymen as well with the blazing enthusiasm that sent them forth upon an unparalleled career of commercial conquest, until most of western Asia, all of northern Africa, Spain and even a part of Gaul were brought under the sway of political supremacy, in allan empire more than 4,000 miles in length.¹ As most of the modern nations had been traders before they assumed the rôle of actual rulers, so the Saracens, in the guise of commerce, were transformed into a conquering nation and their cities and ports soon became the greatest centres of civilisation in the mediæval world and remained so for several centuries.

"The Quran bearing the stamp of its merchant author, far from discouraging and proscribing commerce as did the leaders of the Christian Church, declared that it was agreeable to God. In this fact we find one important explanation of the marvellous rapidity and extent of Mahomedan conquest, for Mahomedanism conquered by commerce as well as by sword. Muhammad certainly displayed remarkable sagacity in appealing to the commercial instinct, for he thus held out one of the most attractive inducements to converts."²

¹ Webster: General History of Commerce, pp. 43 ff.

² Webster: General History of Commerce, p. 45.

Muhammad encouraged commerce with a view to remove the economic and consequent social degradation of his people. He began his operations against social evils that pervaded throughout Mecca and in the neighbourhood. But the opposition was too strong for him and he went to Medina. His activity now centred at Medina. His flight shifted the political centre of Arabia from the older commercial city of Mecca to Yathrib (Medina) which rose to be the capital of Islam and a centre of commercial intercourse as well. It played an enormous part in having transformed in a few year's time the whole of Arabia into one nation. But during the lifetime of the Prophet, Medina was too much engaged in the political struggle and any constructive programme of commerce could not be effected excepting change of articles between the people who were brought into the throes of the struggles that the Prophet had to carry on against the Jews, the Christians and the Polytheists from all sides with the slenderest human backing. Amidst this stress and strain, no commerce could be attended to. Commerce needs peace. But the struggle brought together the scattered tribes and they could know better their mutual needs and means to satisfy those needs. It was for the first time in the history of the whole of Arabia that the tribes learnt the value of large-scale co-operation with one another and the mutual economic dependence. This lesson stood the Arabs later on in good stead in the development of economic pursuits in various directions.

So we see soon after the death of the Prophet, the Arabs moved about. Damascus suddenly became the metropolis of the commander of the faithful—the first Caliph of the House of Omayyah residing there. Damascus became the capital of the Ommyads who were still involved in wars and struggles. But their heart was for commerce. That is why we see that in spite of the ferment and widespread unrest, the Arabs of Damascus could develop arts and crafts so much that Muslim

Damascus has passed into history as the city famous for her manufactures of rich fabrics, brocades, tapestries, tent-curtains, silks and tempered blades and as an inland mart, the greatest in its kind in western Asia, although she had no situational advantages for commerce. That Damascus did not stand on a navigable river was of little disadvantage during the infancy of Muslim commerce when all the carrying trade followed the old caravan routes over the desert and was of such small amount as could still be borne on the backs of camels.

It is to be noted in passing that before the Prophet began to preach his doctrines of Islam most of the Bedawins of Arabian Desert had nothing but scorn for handicrafts—rather manufactures. Cattle-raising, trading in natural products such as date-fruits, coffee, perfumes of forests, hunting and robbery were to them the only natural occupations worthy of mankind. Agriculture and navigation also were beneath their notice. They had taken part in commerce on a large scale only to the extent of providing camels for the caravans to distant markets and guarding them against attacks of hostile nomads whose number was overwhelming in those days, having no settled home or permanent occupation nor tied to any territory. For this protection the Bedawins received *Khifara*, i.e. blackmail. This idea of the Bedawins about commerce we can explain now better. The desert environment, the bleak wilderness and want of abundant rains could not but produce in them the scorn for agriculture or productive manufacture which can flourish only when there is a large supply of raw materials; but the Arabs did not produce raw materials. The geographical factors controlled their commercial activity and they had to adapt themselves to such occupations as were favoured by the physical factors of the Arabian territory. The Prophet realised the disadvantages of the Arabian environment and he attempted to move towards more advantageous sites. In Abyssinia Islam gained

entrance by following commerce, for in order to enter Abyssinia it was necessary to cross the Muslim territory. This circumstance made the Muslims almost sole masters of the Abyssinian commerce which gradually increased their number in that territory and procured them wealth and influence. The Prophet took the earliest opportunity of changing the desert outlook of the Bedawins by stimulating them to self-sufficing commerce and active production. The prohibition of usury was the first economic reform he accomplished. The Bedawins and the pagan Arabs were bled white by the Jews of Arabia. The poor travelling Bedawins used to borrow for consumption and consumption alone and could not pay off their debts, as they had little idea of production by actually exploiting natural resources. Muhammad urged them to commerce for the formation of capital, which they lacked but which alone could make them self-sufficient and independent. This was the right kind of remedy that he applied to the Arabs for their economic emancipation and release from the grip of the Jews and Christians. The prohibition of *Riba* soon had its good results. It changed the commercial outlook of the Arabs. They were transformed from the mere suppliers of caravan camels into the actual employers of camels for their own benefit. They ceased to carry for others and in pursuit of commerce they travelled from place to place and attended to the production of raw materials and manufacture of those materials. Thus the subsequent achievement of commercial success was made easy.

Damascus under the Ommiads was on the high road to industrial and commercial development; but soon after the political conflict and the wars for the throne of the Caliph—the eternal apple of discord in Islam—checked and impeded the progress. At last Saffah—the first Abbasid Caliph of Damascus known as the ‘Shedder of blood’—killed all Ommiads save one who fled to Spain and founded the Caliphate of Cordova. Saffah died in 754 A.D. and was succeeded

by Mansur. Reminiscences of the bloody battles which were too vivid still were too staggering for Mansur to stand and he changed the centre of the Caliphate from Damascus to Baghdad on the western bank of the Tigris. During the last period of the Sassanian dynasty, Persian Baghdad had been a thriving place and at the period of Muslim conquest a monthly market was held there. But Mansur founded the city anew and made it his capital. From the standpoint of commerce, Baghdad possessed beautiful situational advantages. The site was carefully chosen and the plan of the 'Round city' was well thought out. It is reported by Baladhuri, Tabari, and Makaddasi that the Muslim geographers gave advice to the Caliph thus :

"We are of opinion that thou shouldst found the city here between the four districts of Buk and Kalwadha on the eastern bank and of Katrabul and Baduraya on the western bank of the Tigris : thereby shalt thou live among palms and near water ; and also thy city being on the Sarat canal, provisions will be brought there by the boats of the Euphrates and by the caravans through the plains even from Egypt and Syria. Hither up from the Sea will come the wares of China, while down the Tigris from Mosul will be brought goods from the Byzantine lands."

From this it is clear that the early Muslims realised the importance of the geographic factors that go to favour the growth of towns. Proximity to the sea, and rich hinterland behind are the two important essentials for the growth of a town or a port. The founder of New Baghdad was well advised and the subsequent development of Baghdad was remarkable. Its area was computed by Khatib to be 25 sq. miles. Le Strange says:

"This computation seems to be accurate because the Arabs were skillful land surveyors, practising the art for fiscal assessment and for the laying down of the irrigation canals."

The round city of Mansur was completed by 100,000 craftsmen by the year 766 A. D. (149 A. H.).¹ The

¹ Ibn Qutaybah, p. 192.

industrial and commercial activities of the Muslims under the Abbasid Caliphate were centred in this city. Hence it may be considered as the epitome and climax of the Islamic territories to the East of the Mediterranean. It replaced Damascus as the capital of the Empire and for about three centuries was the richest and most magnificent city in the world. It extended its commerce to all parts of the world—to India, China, the East Indies, northern and even the central regions of Africa, Armenia, Russia, Spain and the Baltic countries. Its commerce was fed by numerous manufacturing cities within the Empire as well as by those of other cities such as Mosul, Shiraz, Balkh, Kabul, Ghazni, Bokhara, Samarkand, Basora, Alexandria, Cairo, Kairowan, Fez and the Spanish cities. In Cairo agriculture and industry prospered and furnished a good basis for its commerce. Through Cairo were shipped to the East large quantities of grain, textiles, embroideries, saddlery, harness, leather, mantels, and slaves.¹

Of the Abbasid Baghdad no traces are now left. It cost the Government of Mansur about £9,000,000. After the city was found, the next attempt of the Caliphs was to improve irrigation and extend waterways into the interior by diverting surplus waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Canalisation rapidly advanced. Numerous canals were excavated and made navigable for large boats. These canals were meant both for irrigation of the lands between the two rivers and for communication. Large markets were established on the banks of the canals; each market specialised in having localised one particular kind of product and the canals were called after the name of the products localised thereon. As for instance, *Nahrul Kallayeen* was so called from the shops of fried meats; *Nahr Assawwakin*, so named from the shops of parched pea broth—*Nahr Dajaj* from the woven reeds. Khatib relates that this broth “Sawikul Himmas” was about

¹ Wellster: General History of Commerce.

970 A. D. sold in great quantities throughout Baghdad and it was the food of the poor about three months of the year when fruits were not available. A certain cook used to import chicken-peas called *Himmas* for the demands of his business. The immense quantity sometimes went up to 280 kurrs—1 kurr being six ass-loads.

Again the city was divided into various quarters—each quarter having been named after the industry that was localised therein. As for instance, *Darul Battikh*, i. e., the melon house was so named after the fruits sold in the quarter situated at the confluence of *Nahr Tabik* and *Nahr Isa*. The actual point of this junction was marked by a place known as *Mashraat-al As*, i. e., the Myrtle wharf. This was the port of *Karkh* where the ships from the Euphrates were moored to discharge their cargoes and all along the harbour-side stood many warehouses maintained by merchants dealing in various kinds of products for many different markets. *Darul Jawz*, i. e., the Nut house was at the exit of the Bazzazin canal to the Tigris. Besides, there were numerous localised and specialised markets for various kinds of commodities which indicate clearly the standard of living the Abbasides attained. As for instance, *Sukud Dāwāb*, i. e., the horse market; *Sukul ghajl*, i. e., thread market; *Sukus Sarf*, i. e., the market of money changers; *Darur Rayhaniyin*, i. e., the market of sweet flowers and perfumers; *Darul Kazz*, i. e., the silk market; *Darul Attariyin*, i. e., the quarter of perfume distillers; *Darus Safatiyin*, i. e., the quarter of the weavers of palm baskets; *Sukul warrakin*, i. e., the book market. Of these markets, *Sukul warrakin* is well worth noticing. Amidst the abundance and exuberance of luxuries the Abbasides cultivated the use of books. Theirs was the day when there was no printing press; book-writing consequently became a profession which developed into the historic art of calligraphy in which the Saracens of Baghdad and Spain excelled. In the *Sukul warrakin* there were more than 100 big booksellers'

shops. For these books the manufacture of paper excellently flourished. The factories of paper manufactures were established in the Nasriyah quarter. *The Attabiyah* quarter was famous for the manufacture of the *Attabi* stuffs woven of mixed silk and cotton in variegated colours which were celebrated throughout all Muslim countries. Idrisi (1153) describes Almeriah in southern Spain as in his time possessing 800 looms for silk weaving and the *Attabi* stuffs are particularly mentioned among those that were manufactured there. The name passed into Spanish and thence into Italian and French as *Tabis*. The name *Taby* for a rich kind of silk is now obsolete in English but in the 17th and 18th centuries the word was in common use. In February 1603, Elizabeth received the Venitian Envoy Scaramelli when she wore a 'dress of silver and white taby.' Johnson spelled it '*tabby*' adding 'the tabby cat is so named from the brindled markings of the fur.' *Taby* comes from *Attab* who was the great grandson of Omayyah and Governor of Mecca. Paper manufacture at *Darul Kazz* continued to be famous throughout the East and in 1226 A. D. it was still a very busy quarter. *Abbasiyah* island, another famous quarter, was noted for its flourishing agriculture and gardening. There were many water mills (*Ruhul Batrik*) there as well; of these the great mill which stood at the junction of the great and little carats is originally said to have possessed 100 millstones and produced in yearly rents the fabulous sum of 100 million dirhams, *i.e.*, £4,000,000. *Tabari*, however, holds that this mill was the work of Nestorian Christians.

Along with canalisation, there gradually developed the boatmaking and shipbuilding industry. *Khatib* relates that during the Caliphate of *Muwaffak* who died in 891 A. D. there were about 30,000 boats called *Sumayriah* then in use. The tolls, *i. e.*, mooring dues collected at the rate of 3 dirhams per every trip of a boat amounted to £ 3,000 to £ 4,000 every day.

So far we have had just a bird's eye view of Baghdad's

industrial and commercial activities in localised factories and organised markets. We have also got an idea of how these products were carried and distributed far and wide by boats and camels. Baghdad attained its maximum magnificence during the Caliphate of Haroon-al Rashid who had friendship with Karl the Great. He by his liberal policy of free trade entertained many merchants of many different parts of the known world.

Let us now pass on to Cordova, the epitome and climax of the Moorish dominions as Baghdad was of the Abbasids. I wish to tarry a little longer here especially for the purpose of examining the fact that the Spanish Moor is the pioneer of modern progress in industry and commerce. Scot says in his *History of the Moorish Empire*—"In every department of scientific labour, in every practical operation of life demanding a high degree of mechanical skill, the Spanish Moor exhibited on all occasions a precocious and remarkable ingenuity. There was no field too extensive, no detail too insignificant, to be investigated by his enterprising genius. The marvellous scope of his powers was the greatest factor of his success. His intellectual faculties grasped and utilised in an instant conceptions that individuals of other nations would have, and in fact, often did, cast aside with contempt. The permanent traces he has left upon civilisation and his salutary customs, adopted by posterity in defiance of popular odium and traditional prejudice, are unwilling tributes of national and ecclesiastical hostility to the talents and greatness of an accomplished people to whom history is indebted for the sole bright spot on the dark map of mediæval Europe." It is certain that Columbus was the product of the spirit of maritime adventure that the Spaniards inherited from the persecuted Moors and Columbus' discovery of America is a landmark in the history of oceanic navigation. The Spaniards and the Dutch ruled on the ocean for more than two centuries without any rival. Their monopoly stimulated the British to shipbuilding and ocean exploration chiefly for the purpose

of finding an alternative route (other than Gama's route) to India of 'fabulous wealth.' The state also encouraged this and as a result England adopted mercantilistic policy and passed a series of navigation Acts to further British ship-building. Thus the history of modern ocean communications may be said to be only the continuous development of the beginnings of the oceanic navigation by the Moors.

Soon after the conquest of Spain by the Muslims, she experienced triple revolution in agriculture, manufacture and commerce and became quickly one of the wealthiest and most thickly populated countries in Europe. Cordova expanded and was greatly embellished in the reigns of Abdur Rahman II and III who erected the palace of Az Zahra and under Almanzor who built the palace of Zahira. Cordova with $\frac{1}{2}$ million inhabitants, 3,000 mosques, splendid palaces, 113,000 houses, 300 public baths, yielded only in size and magnitude to Baghdad. Its fame penetrated even distant Germany. The Saxon Nun Horsawitha, famous in the last half of the 10th century for her Latin poems and dramas, called it the 'jewel of the world.'

In 936 A.D. Abdur Rahman III laid the foundations of a town destined to perpetuate the name of Zahra. Nothing was spared to make it as magnificent as possible. For 25 years, 10,000 workmen provided with 1,500 beasts of burden laboured at its construction, yet it was unfinished at its founder's death. The royal palace was of immense size—as indeed, is evidenced by the fact that the female inmates of the harem numbered 6,000.

Nearly every city founded by the Muslims in Spain was noted for a speciality in the manufacture of which it excelled. Ports were also built at suitable harbours on the Mediterranean as well as on the Atlantic seaboard for the purpose of foreign trade.

(To be continued.)

ABUL HUSSAIN

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS AT THE MOGUL'S CAMP

His Negotiations.

III

Shortly after settling down in Camp Sir William was greatly relieved by the receipt of Rs. 23,000. This he acknowledged on May 2, but his acknowledgments were with reservations. He wrote that the money came opportunely, emphasised the extreme importance of regular remittances and told of the continual difficulty he had in having bills credited. Large as the sum seemed he was doubtful if it would last long as the price of provisions had greatly increased. Among other things he mentions that each English soldier in his retinue costs about a rupee per day, each horse nearly two and every camel one. Many of the retinue were ill owing to the unhealthiness of the place, aggravated by the rains.

He was met with the usual excuses. The Council's letter, dated May 5, stated that the non-arrival of the *Albenarle* prevented their remitting bills to the amount of Rs. 1,00,000. But that besides they were themselves finding it more and more difficult to obtain good bills because wealthy persons, being in daily expectation of the Mogul's death, were hesitating to advance money and this left an open field to their rivals of the Old Company. Four days later in another letter they informed Sir William that on May 7th the Governor had sent for Sir John Gayer, to whom the following proposals had been made: that the Old Company should pay Rs. 1,00,000 into the Mogul's treasury; that they should present a request praying for the Old Company's liberty and the New Company's expulsion from India. So great was now the contempt entertained by the Old Company

for Sir William's mission that their procurator was styled Vakil.¹

Post-bags were now occasionally intercepted. On one occasion letters sent on April 9th from Surat did not reach Sir William's camp till May 10th, because the *patlamars* had been forcibly detained on the way. Outwardly there was no sign that the letters had been tampered with, but undoubtedly the packets had been opened, and the question was, why?

It is important to point out here that Norris' letters of this period, had their contents become known, would have inspired no confidence in his cause. Indeed, his reply to the delayed letters, which was sent on May 12, strikes a note of extreme depression owing to delay in the remittances necessary to continue his mission. To him it seemed a melancholy fact that the honour of both King and country should so entirely depend on the arrival of a single ship. Did they now mean to fail in implementing the assurances given him that he should have the necessary bills of credit? He could not continue at the Court without money from Surat whence the Company had desired him to draw supplies. What about the large investments held by the Company? Would it not have been more to their interest to have invested less and reserved more for the expenses of his mission? Coming to details he reminded them that before leaving Surat their "paper of advices" had mentioned the intention of supplying him with Rs. 2,00,000, Rs. 50,000 from the Bay and Rs. 1,50,000 from Surat. He supposed that this "paper of advices" had been sent to England, and, as its wording was very explicit, it would have left no doubt in the minds of the Court of Directors that he had really received the money. They would therefore be sorely puzzled to understand why he was so soon pressing for more. In point of fact Mr.

¹ See Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.



SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART

Harlewyn did not have more than Rs. 40,000 in hand when they left Surat and since then only Rs. 23,000 had been received. Thus only Rs. 63,000 in all had been received, leaving a balance of Rs. 87,000, to say nothing of the Rs. 50,000 to be received from the Bay.

All this was preliminary to informing the Council that the *phirmaund* certified in their favour by the Governor of Surat had not been completed. They were, however, not to doubt his zeal, as he would use all haste to secure the *phirmaund* for Surat as well as other *phirmaunds*. But he intended to consult Yarlebeg and obtain his advice. When therefore the Emperor signified his pleasure to receive from Sir William a written statement of his requests, by Yarlebeg's direction these were made out in general terms. The wording ran "the Mogull would please to grant to the New Society and Company lately stablisht by the name of the English Company tradeing to the East Indies such Phirmaunds, Privileges and immunities in their severall factories and Settlements att Suratt, Bengall, Metchlapatam or any other places or parts of his Majesties dominions and Territories as might enable them to carry on their Trade with Honour, ease and Security." He had also desired permission to state what privileges and immunities were asked in particular for each factory and settlement.

These requests had now been presented by Yarlebeg and Sir William was expecting an answer within the next few days. The Council would understand the situation from the above: everything had to be asked anew, and the *phirmaund* for Surat alone could not be got in the way they had indicated. He also mentioned the complaints against the Old Company by Hassan Hamedon and in this connection charged the Governor of Surat with disobedience to the Mogul's orders which were that he should treat the New Company with friendship and civility and take action against the Old Company to secure payment of their just debts. Such

disobedience, if brought to light, might lead to the Governor's downfall as many coveted his position.¹

It may be here mentioned that at the request of the merchants of Surat the "Serdarr of Bombay" was seized with his wife and others together with five ships at Swally. They were released by Dianat Khan but placed under surveillance until further orders from the Mogul. Dianat Khan proposed that Hassan Hamedon should be paid two or three lacs of rupees in reparation for the loss of his ships, but this was not agreed to. Annoyed perhaps at this rebuff from the New Company he next suggested to the Emperor that if the New Company were to be established at Surat they should be required to give the same obligation as the Old Company had done. In his opinion if both Companies were to remain, before the New Company should receive a *phirmaund* they should be required to undertake responsibility for the Varrell and Malabar Coasts thus rendering the seas safe for all traders.

To Ruhullah Khan the Ambassador confided that he had already advised the Mogul as to King William's intentions towards the Old Company, impressing upon him that the New Company was rich and powerful, well able to fulfil all promises made, the King himself being their guarantee. But to guard against any future misunderstanding he made it clear that he had no instructions to bind himself for Zerband, Varrell or the Malabar Coast.

At last the glad news came from Surat that the *Albemarle* had arrived on 15th May. With her the Court of Directors had sent £1,500 in brocades, gold and silver lace with looking glasses and other articles for the Ambassador's use.

Meanwhile much had been happening. Sir William's next letter written on May 19th from the Emperor's *Leskar* near Pernalla to the Council at Surat is full of bitterness. Ruhulla Khan had thrown off the mask. The *Arzee* drawn up by Sir William and approved by Yarlebeg to be presented

¹ See Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.

to the Emperor was being purposely delayed until that of Fazell Khan had been sent in. The latter *arzee* when it did appear referred everything by the Mogul's order to Ruhullah Khan. The object apparently was that Sir William's *arzee* should be referred to Ruhulla Khan and in this way contrive that Yarlebeg's hands should be tied. This is exactly what happened almost immediately afterwards. The whole business was left to Ruhullah and Yarlebeg, who notified the Ambassador of this immediately it came to his own knowledge, and advised Sir William to make friends with him if possible. If there should occur any delay or unfair action the Ambassador should at once inform him of it, and he would forthwith inform the Emperor. Sir William was, of course, willing to do all in his power to preserve Yarlebeg's loyal friendship and at the same time win over the other ministers to his interest. Plainly a plot was afoot on the part of several ministers with the object of removing the Embassy affairs from the hands of Yarlebeg to those of Ruhullah Khan. With this in view it was arranged that Fazel Khan's *arzee* should be delivered first to the Emperor "wth ye zerband being given in as the Governor of Suratts opinion for me to give Security for which was design'd by and perniciously put in for the Mogull to referr itt to Ruillo Khan before ever my paper should come to his sight." Fazel's *arzee* was referred to Ruhullah who in turn sent it to Sir William requesting him to supply answers to all articles it contained. After the ambassador had returned it Ruhullah sent to enquire whether, if the Mogul should deliver the Old Company into his hands, he would be answerable for their debts. This Sir William regarded as a further effort to entrap him.

At Ruhulla's request Sir William now sent particulars of the *phirmaunds* desired for each of the three factories as Ruhullah wished full information regarding them for his report to the Emperor. There seemed likely to be no

opposition to the granting of *phirmaunds* for the Coast or Bay; but that for Surat might be contested. Sir William was disappointed that Sir Edward Littleton had not sent him a copy of the *Neshan* obtained from the Prince, which would have been of great service to him at this time. News also that the Castle of Parnella had been surrendered to the Mogul made it uncertain whether the Camp would be removed to Mertch or Bramporee. If the latter place should be chosen great trouble and expense would fall on the Embassy.

On May 20th the Court of Directors again wrote from London expressing regret at the many delays and vexations Sir William had encountered. With unconscious irony they expressed the hope that at the time of writing Sir William was already on the return journey to England. They could report no progress in the negotiations between the Companies. There had been constant meetings but the New Company could not agree to the terms proposed. The House of Commons fortunately had declined the proposals of the Old Company to buy out the New and to lend to the Crown a sum equal to the purchase price at 5 *per cent*. But the eyes of England were for the present elsewhere. The Directors wrote that the Duke of Anjou had been made King of Spain and that the French King had in consequence seized Flanders and other of the Spanish Dominions. The Dutch, therefore, had sent an urgent request for assistance to King William and Parliament had in accordance with the Treaty of 1677 agreed to send 10,000 men and 20 men-of-war. It was feared therefore, that the country would soon be at war.¹

The same day Thomas Pitt, writing from Fort St. George to John Beard in Bengal, comments on the seizure of Sir John Gayer and his wife "the like I have not known heard nor read of." He only prayed that the court of the Old Company at home would revenge the action of Sir

• ¹ See Addl. MS. 31, 302. B. M.

William Norris, who also sent two other members of the Council in irons to the Governor. Pitt's natural jealousy appeared in these comments. He mentions that Sir Nicholas Waite had without success tried to procure a *phirmaund* before Sir William's arrival, and concludes with the pious wish that the Embassy might prove a failure. On the other hand John Pitt, writing from Madapollam to Edward Norris on May 20, declared that Sir John Gayer thoroughly deserved his imprisonment for having encouraged Davenant in his opposition to Sir William.

At Surat the Council were still sanguine. On May 23rd they wrote congratulating the Ambassador on his recovery and successful audience with the Emperor. Their only fear was lest the *phirmaund* then being negotiated for should not contain sufficiently explicit and comprehensive directions. Yarlebeg should be informed that the Company's goods for import and export were too highly rated for Customs purposes in proportion to their cost, this being contrary to the Emperor's directions. The Old Factory was sending Rs. 30,000 to their Procurator at the Mogul's Court with a view to obstructing Sir William in his negotiations. They emphasised the point that the Ambassador should do his best to satisfy the merchants now demanding payment of Rs. 80,00,000 due to them from the Old Company. They further informed him that he might be able to obtain funds, payable either at Bengal or Surat, from one Mirza Mahmud Tuckey, a noted merchant and resident at Court.

At the end of May we find Sir William again urging the importance of his being provided with sufficient money for the needs of the Embassy. He was now reduced to such straits that he was afraid he might be unable to meet even the expense of moving his camp in company with the Mogul and what reflections might be cast both on his character and status were this to happen! Expenses had, he pointed out, been greatly reduced and Rs. 1,556 saved by lessening the

number of Indian servants. He had even undergone personal hardships for the sake of the Company's interests. He had stinted himself to be able to present to the Mogul those gifts customary after a victory, to wit, the taking of the castle of Parnella, which was finally consummated on the 25th instant. These gifts, which necessarily consisted wholly of gold *mohurs* together with money presents to the Mogul's Chobdarrs and officers would amount to more than Rs. 5,000. The money thus spent had so depleted his resources that he might not be able to meet the cost of removal with the Mogul; and if "we are left behind how wee shall follow or subsist is past my Skill and understanding." There was such general scarcity of money that the *shroffs* themselves would have gladly paid him high interest on any loan he might have been able to spare. Thus it was with the greatest difficulty that Rustomji obtained an advance of Rs. 5,000 for two months at 4 *per cent.* These difficulties notwithstanding, the affairs of the embassy had made good progress and final success seemed highly probable. *Phirmaunds* for the three factories had been already drawn up and their delivery confidently expected that very night or the next day—the 27th or 28th May.

On May 29th there was delivered to Ruhullah Khan a document containing instructions and a list of privileges desired. In this it is desired that the customs duty be fixed at 2 *per cent.* and indigo is not mentioned. Interference by the Mogul's officials with traders' goods is limited: traders are not to be compelled to sell goods unwillingly, and they are not to have them taken by force. Provisions for dealing with differences and disputes are defined as follows:

- (1) The Consul being appointed by King William's letters patent all differences, disputes, etc., between English subjects are to be referred to him to be dealt with according to English Law.

(2) Disputes between English and Indians to be heard before the Mootisidean and the Consul.

Further, the Consul was to have power to detain any of his servants for debt or misdemeanour; an Englishman was to be answerable for his own debts or offences only: and the New Company was to enjoy whatever privileges might be granted to other Europeans.

The capture of the castle of Parnella involved another state visit to the Emperor in order to congratulate him on his victory. Incidentally it proved a further drain on the Ambassador's shrunken resources. He and his suite were presented by Ruhullah Khan, when they offered their gifts of 300 gold *mohurs*. Every mark of favour was shown to the visitors. The Emperor did Sir William the particular honour of calling him into his immediate presence. For an hour he had the pleasure of seeing the Mogul transact his business. The latter "appeared very hale and well pleased." He also presented a horse to Sir William and when choosing the animal in pursuance of his usual custom rejected the first brought before him. A second was ordered to be brought and it proved very handsome and "finely painted." *Serpaws* or robes of honour were brought for Edward Norris, Harlewyn, Mill and Hale who after being vested in them were brought back into the presence to pay their respects. Shortly after that they all took a ceremonious leave. After returning to camp Sir William ordered eleven guns to be fired to an accompaniment of drums and trumpets in celebration of the victory. The same evening a message was received from Yarlebeg to the effect that the latter had no doubt now as to the successful issue of the mission since the emperor was highly pleased.¹

¹ There is a reference to this visit in *Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-Muala* which confirms the particulars given with the additional information that the "silver-ornamented" saddle presented with the horse was worth 100 mohurs. See *Tod MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.

The time was now at hand when the Mogul was to move his camp. The spot chosen was 30 *corse* nearer to Surat, a *corse* being equal to about two miles. The hire of carriages was almost prohibitive but Sir William expected to receive sufficient money in bills on arriving at the next camp. This they did about the latter end of June as the Mogul usually travelled at the rate of two *corse* a day.

The Mogul began his journey on 2nd June and honoured Sir William by making a detour in order to march past the Ambassador's Camp. His Excellency on very short notice had everything in readiness to receive him, colours and flags, troops lined up and standing to arms; drums and trumpets were sounding. Just as the Emperor came near a salute of guns was fired and Sir William superbly mounted rode out to meet him. The Mogul showed equal civility and stopped the Imperial procession as soon as the Ambassador was seen coming. Sir William dismounted and having approached the travelling throne presented gifts to its illustrious occupant. These consisted of an English medal worth twenty pounds in a beautiful purse and a very fine pair of pocket pistols and were graciously accepted. These pistols were then handed over to Muhammad Khalil and other sons of Ruhullah Khan.¹ Sir William then bowed and the Emperor returned the salute by putting a hand to his forehead, smiling all the time. The procession did not move on once more till Sir William was again in the saddle. All the great ministers in the Imperial train made a point of stopping to see the guard of honour.

For Sir William there was no time to be lost in striking camp. Two great rivers lay in front and the rainy season was close at hand when according to Yarlebeg they would be impassable for both man and beast. In accordance therefore with his advice preparations were immediately begun. Conveyances were the chief difficulty. All the camels brought

¹ See Tod MS.

originally from Surat, save eight, had died and Rustomji found them hard to replace. But by dint of strenuous efforts they were able to start at 9 o'clock in the morning on 4th June. That day they marched only three *corse* as there was a river to cross and hills to climb. They did not reach their camping ground till six o'clock in the evening. Next day they arrived near the Emperor's *Leskar* and afterwards the two trains travelled together. The Emperor was making longer marches than usual, so the Ambassador must needs do the same. Even on Sundays the English party were obliged to break the Sabbath, a thing Sir William had not done since his arrival in India. The immense size of the Emperor's *Leskar* containing as it did 40,000 people made the hiring of carriages and waggons a matter of great difficulty to the Ambassador.

The Council at Surat on 10th June wrote protesting that they had done their utmost to supply Sir William with money. They had learnt that their *phirmaund* had been granted. So once more they complimented him on his skill and expressed the belief that even "the most morose and crusty opposition must yield to it," and that he would yet secure the *phirmaund* for Surat and some remedy for the merchants' complaints.

They were now encamped near the Emperor's *Leskar* on the river Mawn, noted for the violence of its current. Sometimes it was so strong that even elephants could not swim across. Sir William was still in want of money and in a letter dated 13th June, complained to the Council that, although the *Albemarle* had arrived, their promise of Rs. 1,00,000 had not been fulfilled. They had requested him to use bills on their brokers instead, but, having found this impossible, he was already Rs. 10,000 in debt. Later on it appeared that the Council were themselves in difficulties through having sent him bills on credit for Rs. 50,000 and by expenditure for other purposes. Having now only Rs. 5,000 left for

payment of salaries they resolved to conclude a loan with Mr. Pedro Pereyra for Rs. 30,000.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties Sir William neglected nothing likely to help him in his mission. Especially did he emphasise to the Emperor the large number of pirates taken to England for execution as well as the success of the men-of-war which had conveyed him to India in destroying a whole nest of pirates at St. Mary's who had been infesting the Red Sea.

In opposing the grant of *phirmaunds* the Old Company had been following their usual tactics. There was a story that Sir John Gayer had promised nine lacs of rupees provided no *phirmaunds* were granted to the New Company allowing them to trade in the Emperor's dominions. This may, however, have been an exaggeration. Nevertheless it is certain that the Shroff of the Old Company was pressing the creditors of the New to demand repayment. And it was an open secret that Rs. 3,35,000 had been sent to the Court to buy help in their opposition.

Bribery on so great a scale was for Sir William impossible. Indeed, he could hardly pay his way. True, Rustomji had received bills to the amount of Rs. 40,000, but they might have to remain a long time in the camp and travelling in the Emperor's company was expensive. Writing from the *Leskar* at Cattoon on June 20th he pointed out that travelling expenses would come to Rs. 20,000, and that promises, bills, engagements were of little avail. Ready money was needed and for that he appealed once more. The *phirmaunds* for the three factories had been for some time in Ruhullah Khan's hands and Sir William was anxious that Ruhullah should report in their favour. For this ready money would have been most useful as with its aid Ruhullah could have been bought over to his interests.

Yarlebeg and the Harcarra of Surat had each copies of the *phirmaunds* and both approved of the one concerning

Surat. The Harcarra had not called upon the Ambassador but this, as he explained, was for purely diplomatic reasons. He thought it better not to appear too friendly with the Ambassador as that might prejudice the mission. The Harcarra advised Sir William to make no allusion to any doings of the Governor of Surat. This was advice difficult to follow as the Governor had had the impudence to spread a report to the effect that Sir William was being maintained by the Emperor. This the Ambassador regarded as pure malice as he was confident that the Governor knew better. In conclusion he (Sir William) reported to the Council that he had made it an article of the *phirmaund* that Englishmen should all be answerable for their own debts.

Early in July came the Council's reply to these repeated requests for money. It was almost insulting. They ascribed his complaints more to passion than to reason. They reminded him that he had received Rs. 40,000 just before setting out on the journey to Court and that this was part of the Rs. 1,50,000 agreed on. The remainder of the latter sum was to be paid on the arrival of the *Albemarle*, but, lest the ship might not arrive in time, the Council had agreed that he should meanwhile draw Rs. 50,000 on the presidency of the Bay. After the *Albemarle's* arrival a further sum of Rs. 40,000 was sent him. Having been informed that the business of the Embassy might be concluded in two months' time they had arranged for a further sum of Rs. 50,000 to be paid him on easy terms.⁸ This was all they would do. And yet they knew that matters were coming to a crisis; because that very day they heard that the Old Company had been petitioning the Mogul pleading their establishment for 100 years to the great advantage of his subjects and prophesying that the New Company would not last long. While practically refusing further help the Council demanded more of their Ambassador. The Governor of Surat

⁸ See p. 15 of Surat Factory Records, Vol. 6.

had refused ground for burial purposes, so they requested their unfortunate representative to lay this matter as a new grievance before the Emperor.

The Council at Surat were not his only paymasters. In his next letter we find that the President and Council at Masulipatam had sent him a bill for Rs. 25,000, intimating that another for a similar sum would follow in a few days. He further pointed out that, owing to the ever-present want of ready money, he could not "test" Ruhullah Khan, who in spite of continual pressure had regularly postponed making any report on the *phirmaunds*. With a round sum of ready money, he said, he would have been able to gratify Ruhullah's expectations. As for Mahmud Tuckey, whom they had recommended, he was in reality one of their most persistent enemies, who made it his special business to minimise the New Company's influence in order to aggrandise the Old. Indeed he was actually a *Vakeel* for the latter and his alliance with Ruhullah Khan had one object—to strike at the very existence of the New Company.

As to the *phirmaund* for Surat a new difficulty had arisen. It seems incredible that at this late hour any doubt could exist as to its contents. Yet Sir William now accused the Council of having no accurate knowledge of these, which were, of course, in Persian. He therefore sent them one copy of an exact translation he had obtained. In doing so he expressed his surprise at finding his name affixed to the original document along with that of Sir Nicholas Waite. He was unable to imagine how it could have been used without his order or even his knowledge. He pointed out that the fact would very much prejudice the Company because their opponents would argue that any document bearing his name was bound to represent the sumtotal of his demands, and that this might be used as a plea for refusing further privileges. Leaving the Council to digest this new trouble at their leisure, Sir William next explained the exact

position of the *phirmaund* and the reason why it had made so slow progress. When Yarlebeg first presented it to the Emperor the latter had noted on it his approval provided it were recommended by the Governor of Surat. Nothing, however, had happened till it was presented a second time—on this occasion by the Mufty, who at the same time offered an obligation for Mocha. Then the Mogul, seemingly content, ordered him to have the *phirmaunds* written out and this was accordingly done. Later on, however, Sir William had learnt from Lollo Chuturb Hogedas that the Emperor had ordered no *phirmaunds* to be granted till the Governor of Surat should approve. There the matter rested and nothing further had been done either by Yarlebeg or the Mufty.

Obviously therefore the attitude of the Governor of Surat was all-important. Sir William then told the Council that they had been completely deceived and misinformed about the Governor's attitude towards that copy of the *phirmaunds* carried by Rustomji under the Mufty's seal. It now appeared that this document did not contain one single syllable written by the Governor in favour of the New Company. Further, it was asserted by Acun Sala that no such document had ever been sent. Rustomji also denied ever having had such a paper and had been subjected to close examination before Mr. Edward Norris and Mr. Harlewyn, with no apparent result. Plainly therefore it was necessary that the document if it existed, should be obtained in order to verify whether or not the Governor of Surat had certified in their favour.

Sir William had now for some time been travelling with the Emperor. Owing to the rains they had stayed longer at Murdawngur than had been expected. His disappointment at the turn matters had taken with Ruhullah made him the more grateful for an offer now made by Yarlebeg to intercede with the former on his behalf.¹

¹ See Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.

The Council of Surat in reply dated August 1st also expressed surprise at seeing Sir William's name along with that of Sir Nicholas Waite on the *phirmaund*. They explained that they had taken great care in drawing it up, that the English version had been translated to Rustomji who had re-translated it into *Gentu* which had been written down by the Persian Secretary. They asserted that Sir William's draft and their own were materially the same and that their own draft was based on the Dutch *phirmaund* because the Dutch had been enjoying greater immunities than the Old Company. They said that Rustomji knew all about it and possessed a copy and that they were now sending a copy to Sir William.¹

Later on, however, the Council discovered that the 4th article in the *phirmaund* drawn up by Sir William differed from that in the version held by the Consul, and that there were other omissions of importance.² Where the blame lay is still doubtful. The Council were apparently satisfied with regard to Rustomji's good faith in the interests of the New Company, although he had his own gain very much at heart. Their view finds confirmation in a letter written by Sir John Gayer who testifies to his character, referring to him as "honest broker Rustum."³

Early in August Sir William ascertained that Ruhullah Khan was anxious to obtain a lakh of rupees for himself and Rs. 20,000 for Mirmud Khan, his wife's brother. Having obtained these sums from the Ambassador he undertook to secure the *phirmaunds* in a month's time. Only one more preliminary now remained and on it Yarlebeg and Ruhullah were in agreement. Both advised Sir William that the only certain way to facilitate matters was to offer the Emperor a lakh of rupees. This would secure without demur and

¹ See Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.

² See p. 18 of *Surat Factory Records*, Vol. 6.

³ See No. 1, 167 of *Surat Factory Records*, Vol. 8.

without delay the granting of all requests contained in the *phirmaunds*. It was too late to hesitate. After careful consideration Sir William decided to make the offer on the understanding that all requests contained in the three *phirmaunds* should be granted. These included the proviso that the New Company should be freed entirely of any obligation to secure the freedom and safety of the seas. Yarlebeg and Ruhullah were highly gratified and expressed no doubt of the Mogul's ready agreement. Instead, however, of offering the lakh of rupees in his own name, Sir William punctiliously decided that it would be much more to the Company's interest to make the offer in their name and to pay the amount into the Imperial Treasury at Surat after obtaining the three *phirmaunds*. There would also be this further advantage that, should the Company at any future time be urged to give further security, they could refer to the *phirmaunds* for confirmation of their exemption. Sir William had also been careful that all the *phirmaunds* should contain an article allowing the Consul only to fly the flag. There were only two articles to which objection was raised. These were, first, that referring to the power of the Consuls and for the reduction of customs at Surat to two *per cent.*, and second, the establishment of a mint in Bengal. Apart, however, from these Ruhullah Khan mentioned that the Emperor had demanded that the Company should bind itself to secure the freedom of the seas. But as Sir William had already accepted that obligation for Mocha he hoped to be exempted from further obligation.

The Ambassador was now in high spirits. So confident was he of soon finishing the negotiations that he wrote to the Consul to have a ship in readiness at Surat to convey him to England, expressing a wish that it should be the *Albemarle*. At the latest he hoped to leave the Emperor's *Leskar* early in October and to reach Surat by the middle of November. There would be no business at Surat except to ensure the

execution of the *phirmaunds* and settle outstanding accounts between the Ambassador and the Council. He therefore expected to be able to embark about the middle or the end of December.

Meanwhile Arsett Khan, Dewan of the *Halsa* and chief patron of the Governor of Surat, had died on the 3rd inst. (August). The position of the Governor, Dianatt Khan, had been becoming more and more precarious, owing to the Mogul's wish to depose him. His friends offered three lacs of rupees that he might be allowed to continue as Governor of Surat. This the Mogul declined as he considered Dianatt unfit for his post.

On 7th August there was another audience with the Emperor. This was that Sir William might thank him for the favour of "ordering" the *phirmaunds*. The Ambassador proceeded in the same state as formerly and offered the usual "gift" of gold *mohurs* which was graciously accepted.

The long tragi-comedy seemed about to come to a satisfactory end when suddenly a new actor appeared on the stage. This was Hossendi, or the holy Dervish, who made a strong representation to the Mogul about the large debts owed by the Old Company to the Emperor's subjects. These had never been paid although repeated orders to that effect had been given. The clamour about them now blazed up more fiercely than ever and threatened to become a national matter. Aurangzeb had issued stringent orders involving not only Surat, Bengal, Masulipatam, but every other part of India, to the effect that all persons and possessions belonging to the Old Company should be seized. None with that connection should be allowed any longer to trade in his dominions. These orders were given to Ruhullah Khan who vainly endeavoured to befriend the Old Company. Sir William even expressed openly his regret at this action of the Mogul, declaring that although the Old Company in his opinion thoroughly deserved their fate, yet as a fellow-countryman

and a Christian he was sincerely sorry for them. In private too he was alarmed at the probable effect the orders would have on the fortunes of the New Company, supposing they should still be held responsible for the Old Company's debts.

Our Ambassador's difficulties seemed never-ending. One of the greatest was the want of a reliable interpreter, as already mentioned. At this time in the translation of some Persian letters, it had been made to appear that the Consul had not only offered *zerbant* himself but had also promised that Sir William would grant it should the Emperor so wish. The Ambassador was confident that the Consul could have given no such undertaking and that the Persian scribe had all along been playing a double game. It had involved much expense and trouble to convince the Mufty that the meaning in the Persian was quite different from that of the English version. But when Rustomji offered the Mufty Rs. 20,000 he became convinced that the New Company should not give *zerbant*. At the same time this wily person took the opportunity of requesting that one of the New Company's ships might be employed to convey him the following season to Mecca. To this request the Ambassador agreed and trusted that it would be carried out by the New Company. He also informed the Council that it would be considered piracy if any ships belonging to the Mogul's subjects were seized by the Old Company and suggested that ship masters should be warned accordingly.

Turning now to affairs at home we find that a Committee of Seven was held at the East India House on August 15th. At this meeting it was proposed that both Companies should desist from making any separate exportation; that both should raise an equal amount of joint stock to be managed by an equal number of persons from each Company; and that each should supply its proportion until a union of the Companies could be effected. The duration of each Company after that should be according to the advice of the Council. Further,

that the Old Company should purchase from the New as much as would make up the sum of £315,000 subscribed by John Dubois. "One half subscribed by the New Company to be paid when and with such allowances as were made and granted to the New Company." And that the New Company should pay to the Old £175,000 for one moiety of their Forts, Castles, revenue, etc.¹

A letter from Thomas Pitt to Sir John Gayer shews both Assed Khan, and his son Zulphaker Khan to be declared friends of the Old Company. Apparently to Pitt personally both the Vizier and his son had written the kindest of letters. As to the prospects of Sir William's success Pitt's opinion wavered. At one moment he foresaw the Old Company being ruined by the Ambassador's rain of gold. At another he doubted if Sir William would be able to continue his lavish bribes, or gain more than equally lavish promises in return. On the whole he seems to have thought little of the Ambassador's chances of ultimate success. In this letter his extreme bitterness against Sir William comes out very clearly. In another letter to Stephen Colt, Pitt condemned in unmeasured terms the treatment given to Sir John Gayer, declaring that it reflected not only on Sir Nicholas Waite but also on the honour of the whole nation. This feeling was probably quite genuine for Pitt had a pride of his own as will be seen from his dealings with Daud Khan. The latter had approached St. Thome with an army and Pitt had tried to propitiate with the usual present. This Daud had returned intimating that he would not be satisfied with less than 10,000 pagodas. Pitt declined to increase the sum although Daud threatened to attack Fort St. George. His firmness had its effect however inasmuch as Daud not only accepted the original present but even dined with Pitt in the Fort before withdrawing with his army.²

¹ See Rayl. MS. A. 302., Bodleian.

² See No. 88, 95 of Addl. MS. 228-43; also pp. 207-13, of *The Life of Thomas Pitt*, by Sir Cornelius Neale Dalton, Cambridge University Press, 1915.

Pitt as we have seen was sceptical of Sir William's success and the latter himself was now doubtful. At this juncture he was most anxious to give no offence to the Mogul, and for that reason therefore when writing to the Council at the end of August he strongly advised that, until the *phirmaunds* were sealed, the utmost caution should be used by all Consuls in the exercise of jurisdiction and authority throughout the Emperor's dominions. Once the power granted by the King's commission had been confirmed by the Emperor in the *phirmaunds*, then they might stretch their authority to the utmost. The delay, however, seeing Aurangzeb was understood to be willing to grant the *phirmaunds*, was ominous. Sir William had no great faith in his agents. But the greatest obstacle to their progress lay in the debts of the Old Company. Sir William had often at Court felt compelled to protest against the Old Company's debts being considered a national obligation. In the insistence on this point, therefore, he saw a deliberate design to break up the negotiations. He had also a suspicion that Ruhullah Khan was delaying the *phirmaunds* notwithstanding that Rustomji had assured him of the large sum of money already mentioned. For the present therefore it seemed that the end was yet far distant. It was uncertain whether the delay was due to the Old Company's debts or to Ruhullah having received a higher bribe from the opposition. Only time could show if it would be necessary to request the Mogul to select another agent to make out the *phirmaunds*. Yarlebeg, who seemed above suspicion, had already been consulted on this matter and Sir William was perturbed with the alternative of having his business pass into the hands of a stranger or seeing it remain in Ruhullah's.

Assed Khan had now arrived at the Imperial *Leskar* and been accompanied into the Mogul's presence by all the great ministers. The Vizier had been graciously received and "serpawed" from "head to foot." Sir William was careful

this time not to delay in paying respect to him. Already he had sent Rustomji with a message of welcome, and held out in addition the prospect of a further compliment when Assed should be passing the Embassy on his way to the Emperor's presence. The Vizier responded very cordially and promised to pass by Sir William's tent. In preparation for his arrival all the guards were turned out, colours were flying, trumpets blowing, drums beating and hautboys playing. Just as Assed was passing the colours Mr. Harlewyn attended by the gentlemen of the Embassy offered all the usual compliments and presented him with a beautiful purse containing 101 gold *mohurs*. The Vizier too played his part and in thanking Mr. Harlewyn promised to do his best now that he had arrived at the *Leskar*, adding with engaging candour that hitherto he had done nothing to justify so flattering a reception. It will be noticed that Sir William did not appear at all. This seems to have been because he expected little from Assed Khan. As yet it was not apparent why the latter had been summoned to the Emperor's presence. Sir William indeed was of the opinion that Assed Khan had come to Court under compulsion after delaying as long as he dared. Some have thought that the Emperor wanted to invest Kilnah, the only stronghold still remaining in the Raja's hands. It was also felt to be probable that after the rains the Emperor intended to march himself towards Aurangabad. In connection with these probable moves Assed Khan during his residence at the *Leskar* would naturally transact all business. But whether the object of the Embassy would be within the scope of his commission remained as yet uncertain.

It now becomes apparent that Sir William was no longer being given so free a hand as formerly, since the Council at Surat was proposing to pay Rs. 3,000 to the great priest Syett Sedula to expedite the granting of the *phirmaunds*. This was in view of the Mogul's precarious health and great age.

Early in September serious news reached the Embassy from Surat. An English ship believed to belong to the Old Company had seized a ship of Abdul Gaffore, sailing from Mocha. It was also reported that three others had been taken. The news had caused great excitement at Surat. Further, it was reported that the Sheriff of Jeddah or Mocha had stopped a richly laden English ship belonging to the Coast or Bay. Also it was stated that 30,000 dollars had been taken from Abdul Gaffore's vessel and 20,000 from the others. The Council feared that news of these happenings would delay Sir William's negotiations and decided that Sir Nicholas Waite with some members of the Council should interview the Meer on the subject that very evening (September 3rd).¹ Nothing could have been more unfortunate or more untoward for the affairs of the Embassy.

In a letter dated September 9th Sir William felt himself obliged to ask the Council to refrain from making derogatory remarks about himself in their correspondence, and at the same time complained of open unfriendliness towards him. The Council had found fault with Mr. Mill and he challenged them to produce proofs of their allegations. He had himself no reason to doubt Mr. Mill's ability or honesty and added that he had completely won the respect of the Omralis or noblemen. The Council in a later letter referred to this matter, stating that while Mr. Mill was entirely unknown to them they had received certain reports concerning his actions and considered from the evidence before them that he was unworthy of Sir William's confidence. It appeared therefore that now the Council regarded the Ambassador as unfit to choose either his Indian or his English agents.

Never perhaps had matters looked so black, and now in addition the Ambassador learnt that Ruhullah Khan had received from Mahmud Tuckey a written undertaking to pay

¹ See pp. 102-3, Fatcory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.

him two lakhs of rupees on condition that he should hinder the affairs of the mission as much as possible. Already Sir William had through Yarlebeg and the Mufty complained to the Mogul of the great delay in granting the *phirmaunds* and been promised an answer in a few days. It was now discovered that the *arzee* presented to the Mogul by Ruhullah was quite different from what had been already agreed on. This exhausted Sir William's already sorely tried patience. He sent Mr. Mill to inform Nirmud Khan of the treachery and ordered him to say plainly that if the Ambassador could not obtain his requests as originally agreed upon, the undertaking to pay a lakh of rupees to the Emperor was null and void. He had indeed little to show for the money he had disbursed, and feared that the Council and Directors would consider that he had been too lavish to the Emperor, Ruhullah Khan, Nirmud Khan and the Mufty. Yet there was evidence that Ruhullah was receiving sums still greater for hindering the *phirmaunds*. In his bitterness Sir William wrote "So that there is now a Sort of an Auction or Publick Sale, and they that did most shall succeed, and this impossible to be avoided ; for the greatest sume of money alwayes speakes the best reason." He still clung to the belief that the fault was not his but lay in the lack of money that had throughout held back the negotiations.

His next letter from the Council confirms this view. It stated that on three separate occasions orders had been received by the Meer from Fazel Khan and Ruhullah Khan to ascertain which of the two Companies was the richer and more powerful. Plainly this was to determine which should be allowed to remain in the country, and the inference was obvious that unless the answer favoured the New Company no *phirmaunds* would be delivered to the Ambassador.

Another intrigue calculated to delay the mission was found in the fact that Ruhullah Khan took advantage of two letters written to the *Hallsa*, one by Sir John Gayer and the

other by the Governor of Fort St. George before Sir William's arrival at the *Leskar*. They contained the exploded insinuations that he was not an accredited Ambassador from the King of England and that he merely represented the New Company. Ruhullah Khan, in concert with Mahmud Tuckey, pretended that he must be satisfied on that point before he could proceed further in the Ambassador's business. Sir William's letter of protest was received with surprised apologies by Ruhullah, who with solemn hypocrisy ordered his Secretary to declare publicly that the Old Company "were Rogues for writeing as they did, and yt ye Nabob and every body was fully sattisfyed I was Embassadr from ye King of England." The same tactics were followed by Arsett Khan just after his first audience with the Emperor. The latter pretended displeasure since he had already accepted Sir William as Ambassador from the King of England. Nevertheless he is reported to have verbally ordered Mulliphet Khan to write to the holy priest at Surat for a true account of the respective conditions of the two Companies and also of Sir William's own character. Sir William tried to persuade himself that the story of this letter was fiction, or, if not, that the Emperor had been unduly influenced by Mulliphet Khan. The latter indeed appeared to him to be quite probable since it was a known fact that the Ministers took advantage of the Emperor's great age to accomplish their own ends.¹

By this time Sir William's confidence was completely gone. It seemed to him hopeless to sue for new privileges in view of the bribes showered by his opponents on the Vizier and others. Two courses of action were open to him—either to refuse the *phirmaunds* unless they contained the new privileges that had been asked, or to accept them and thus obtain no more than what was usually granted to Europeans. The

¹ Later on it was found that the letter was written to the holy Syett by Mulliphet Khan's own direction and it was neither written nor indited by the Emperor. See p. 157 of Factory Records, Misc. Vol. 20.

latter course offered some degree of settlement while the former contained the serious risk of losing all by striving to obtain more. He had tried hard to give effect to the wishes of the Court of Directors concerning Consular powers and the reduction of customs at Surat to two *per cent*. Both articles being now left out of the *phirmaunds* he asked the Council how long he should persist in asking for their insertion. In spite of everything, however, he put a good face on the matter and continued to speak hopefully of ultimate success with the Vizier.

The records shew that on September 25th he had an interview with the Vizier at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. His visit was as ceremonious as that to the Emperor himself, and the Vizier received him with all the usual formalities including investment with the *Serpaw*. During the interview the present position of affairs and Ruhullah Khan's many delays were the main topics of conversation. Assed Khan was full of suave assurances and promised to lose no time in laying the matter before the Emperor. But by now Sir William had learnt to be sceptical of mere promises, so he took the precaution of making handsome presents to the Chief Officers of the Vizier. His present to Assed himself consisted of English manufactures and curiosities of great value. The brocade, gold and silver lace not having arrived he was not able to add these to his presents. It appears from the diary that he had "omitted to give the Vizier a land present. I now sent him a watch. However he notifies he has many of the same sort and would rather have 100 gold *mohurs*, which I sent although startled at the greed of a man worth 100 millions sterling." The chances of success now seemed appreciably brighter especially as neither Mahamud Tuckey nor the procurators of the Old Company had apparently attempted a bribe.

(To be continued)

HARIHAR DAS

ROSA AMOROSA

Shiraz with its blue and gold mosques, was smiling radiantly, self-complacently under a lapis-lazuli sky, one morning in the spring of the year 1350. Its birds were singing a hundred songs to welcome the sunlight, which was filtering through the light-green leaves of the trees on which they were perched. The river Roknabad was meandering in a mood of blue-green dreaminess through the body of the town, reflecting on its surface the forms, colours, and fancies of the passing world.

Hafiz was sitting on a rug in a shady corner of his garden. Beside him lay his lyre and a copy of the Koran. He was gazing with rapt attention at a big rose, which towered above its fellows on a rose-bush in front of him. Its petals were ashine—as though they had drunk of the splendour of the sun. Its calyx seemed as if it were cut from a single, large, bowing emerald. It was bowing with great dignity and grace every now and then to the zephyr which was fanning it, and wafting its perfume all around. Some minutes passed, during which the other roses, the other flowers there, the garden, and the sun vanished from his sight. His senses suspended their normal functions, and he entered into a state of trance. Then, as he sat there in that exalted, supernatural condition, he saw a dark speck on the horizon, which became larger and larger as it came nearer and nearer to the spot where he was seated. When it was about a dozen feet from him, he saw that it was a Jinn with mountain-like wings. The mighty, fire-made creature alighted on the earth, and after making a profound obeisance to him, said:—

“O Hafiz, come with me.” He was taken aback on hearing this dread request. For although he was a poet, a seer, how could he foresee all the experiences and thrills that the future had in store for him? Visions of hell immediately appeared before his mind’s eye. Then, endeavouring to be courageous, he asked in a low tone, “Whither?”

The Jinn looked portentously solemn, and replied, “I am commanded by a superlative beauty to take thee near her abode. I am forbidden to say anything more.—Say, wilt thou come?”

With passionate eagerness, and filled with a holy, superabundant joy, Hafiz now replied:—

“Willingly, and with pleasure infinite.”

“Then mount on my back, O son of Adam, and I will carry thee to thy destination.”

No sooner was Hafiz seated on the Jinn's back, than he heard the sound of his cyclopean wings cleaving the air,—the sound was as that of a scimitar cutting through a silken cloth. Such was the velocity of his flight, that not even the lightning could have dared to think of outspeeding him. But it was so strangely uneven, that he could not form any idea of the situation of the place to which he was being taken. At one moment he felt himself to be going upwards, till he thought he had reached the very summit of the sky. Then, the next moment, the Jinn took a deep plunge downwards. The light which was formerly shining about him now disappeared, and he saw himself surrounded by walls of darkness. Down, down, he was being carried breathlessly without a pause. The gloom soon became so intense and awe-inspiring, that he began to wonder if he were not somewhere near the abode of Iblis! He put many nervous questions to the Jinn about his destination, which were, however, answered only by the whirring noise of his rushing wings. At last, after many ups and downs, after many conflicting doubts and fears, he saw to his intense relief that his vehicle was lessening the speed of his flight. There was a cool, dawn-like light around him at that time. After a few minutes more, the Jinn alighted on the ground, and requested him to dismount. And when he had done so, the Jinn asked:—

“Dost thou see yon gold-paved path with marble arches over it?”

He looked in the direction in which the Jinn's finger was pointing, and replied: “Yes.”

“Take that path, and continue thy way until thou hast passed through the seventh marble arch. Then thou wilt behold in front of thee the silver doors of an agate palace. Touch them with thy hand, and they will open instantaneously to let thee in.” With these words, the Jinn flew away from the poet's sight.

The path which Hafiz took glowed like sunlight before him. It was bordered on both sides by cypresses, poplars, and other kinds of trees. The marble arches through which he passed on his way, were all very white in colour and graceful in form. Beyond the seventh arch, he saw, as the Jinn had told him, the silver doors of a palace built of agate, which flew open as soon as he touched them. As he passed through them, he found himself in a goodly-sized hall, two of whose sides were lined with plants and shrubs. From one of these plants or shrubs, he could not see which one, the song of a bird was flowing. The most recurrent, and the predominant word in this song, he soon noted, was “rose,” whose every letter seemed to inspire its singer very greatly.

In the middle of the hall, there was a large quartz platform, on which a magnificent crystal throne was placed. On this throne, a large rose, about twenty feet in circumference, was seated. Around it were standing in a semi-circle about fifty beautiful maidens, the forms and colours of whose dresses reminded him of the forms and colours of different flowers. As he was wondering where he was and who these beings were, he saw a column of light, about a foot long, shoot upward from the bosom of the enthroned rose,—with a female being seated on it. To describe the beauty of this being, would be simply to insult it; for it was created to be felt rather than to be described in mere human words. Balkis, the ever famous Queen of Sheba, would have looked near her as a candle would near the moon; and Helen of Troy would have appeared near her as a block of marble does near a fully-finished statue.

On seeing this incarnate vision of the eternal To-morrow, his mind was filled at once with so many similes, that he felt a sweet confusion in his mind. Then there floated to his ears the following words, uttered in a voice which seemed to be vibrating with the music of a hundred dreams:—

“Dost thou know where thou art, O Hafiz of Shiraz?”

He looked up instinctively at the beauty seated on the column of light, and replied, “Nay, fair lady, Knoweth I not.”

Then said the lady, “We are in a palace built on Mount Kaf,—twenty thousand miles above the surface of the earth.”

Hardly had he recovered from the surprise caused by her statement, when she asked, “Dost thou know who I am?”

“I know not; but my soul tells me that thou art the embodiment of the highest of men’s many desires!” he replied lyrically.

“Know then, that I am the rose-Peri,” she said, looking sweetly solemn.

On hearing these words, he gazed at her as a dreamer gazes at his most cherished dream.

“These maidens around me, are the Peris of the flowers that are found in earthly gardens. Thou canst recognize them by the forms and colours of their dresses, as well as by the fragrance of their breath. This is Miss Chrysanthemum,—this is Miss Lotus,—this is Miss Hyacinth,—this is Miss Pomegranate,” said the rose-Peri, as she pointed to some of the beauties who were standing around her.

He bowed to each of them with much grace, his hand placed over his heart.

"They are my friends, and they have elected me their Queen, willingly and of their own accord. They say that I am too perfect to be classed with imperfection like themselves, which of course is not true," said the rose-Peri with a soul-stealing modesty of mien.

"Verily, they are as wise as they are beautiful; for they know how to distinguish one who is born to be a sovereign, from the others!" he remarked.

The rose-Peri looked radiant on hearing the compliment, and then asked, "Art thou not surprised to hear a bird singing in a place like this?"

"It is but inevitable," he replied. "A beauty is bound to be followed by admirers, no matter where she goes or lives!"

"It is the spirit of the earthly bulbul hidden in one of yon shrubs, who is entreating me to bestow my love on him," said the rose-Peri, trying to look regally indifferent.

"Hast thou, then, not yet bestowed thy love on that persistent and exquisite warbler?" he asked anxiously.

"No; because I know that he admires only my form, my dress, and my fragrance with which I inundate the garden of the world!" replied rose-Peri. "But I want more! I want more than that!—Thousands of your earthly poets have also sung of me, extolled me,—but they too, like the bulbul, have failed to alter the rhythm of my lonely life, which is what I want.—Oh! how I hate being regarded merely as a pretty flower, or as a symbol of something else!"

"O gracious lady," he cried, moved to the depths of his being, "how insane must he be who admires thee merely for the sake of thy form, and is not able to feel the profound, lyrical energy that lives behind it, the secret rhythm that has moulded it!—And how canst thou represent anything else, when thou art thyself the Sultana of beauty?"

The rose-Peri looked pleased, and asked, "Wilt thou not now sing to us something out of thine head? See! the shadowy forms of the dead poets of the world are crowding in the room to hear thy song!"

His eyes looked in the direction where hers were turned, and he saw the unsubstantial forms of the rose-loving bards of all climes and creeds which had collected there. He bowed with great reverence to them all, and then took his seat on the floor. The spirit of the bulbul ceased his song, the intangible poets craned their necks towards him, and the rose-Peri and her companions composed themselves to listen to him attentively. He cleared his throat, and then looked into the

eyes of the owner of the palace to seek inspiration. A crowd of images rushed frantically into his head. Half-formed words, and sounds in an embryonic condition, began humming in his head, till they found the channel along which they could run and perfect themselves. Then he sang the following lines in his divinely mellifluous mother-tongue:—

Lo, not at any time I lent mine ear ¹
To hearken to the glories of the earth ;
Only thy beauty to mine eyes was dear.
Sleep has forsaken me, and from the birth
Of night till day, I weave bright dreams of thee ;
Drunk with a hundred nights of revelry,
Where is the tavern that sets forth such cheer !

The vocal notes flew upwards piercing the air with their keen strength and beauty. The hearts of the rose-Peri and her friends sang back his words,—with their own individual temperamental accent added to them. The eyes of the shadowy poets sparkled with a responsive inspiration. Then, when the song ceased and an enchanted silence ensued, the rose-Peri descended from her luminous, columnar seat, and went to the singer, who seemed to be wrapped in the odour of the words which had just flowed from his lips.

“O mortal, thou art the only one, whose words have really touched me, the only one,¹ who has really understood me ! Go back now to thy earthly life,—and when thou fallest like a ripe fruit from the tree of human life,—then shall we be truly united with each other in eternal youthfulness here !” With these words, she kissed his lips with such intensity that he lost all consciousness.

When he came to himself and opened his eyes, he found himself seated on his carpet in his beloved garden, with his lyre and Koran lying by his side. In front of him, at a little distance, was a big rose towering above its fellows and nodding in the morning breeze. But of the Jinn, the rose-Peri, and her friends there was no sign.

He then went to his house, brought out his inkhorn, pen, and paper and began to indite the verses which he remembered to have sung in the agate palace on Mount Kaf.

V. B. METTA

¹ Translated by Miss Gertrude Bell.

BED OF PAIN

To pain—Ah pain ! I prisoner be,
Bound fast to fleshly gallows-tree.
 Dead leaves of thought,
 To powder wrought
By gusts of piercing pain,
 With cruel skill
 Refuse to kill
Death-lusting heart and brain—
With venom'd-locks
Death laughs and mocks
And spits life-curse on me.
 Pain-laden breath
 Cries to Faith—
“ O set me free—free—free ” !
With heatless light descends
 A message, peaceful, rare ;
“ What Love in mercy sends,
 Canst thou not love and bear ” ?
 I raise my head,
 To white turns red,
The heart of flesh Love rends.
Mea Culpa ! Kyrie Eleison !—
The prayer the silent heart beats on.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE BUSINESS OF THE STATISTICIAN

(A Preliminary Survey.)

An eminent physician is said to have described 'Statistics' as the superlative of 'lies.' I wish this illuminating and flattering summarisation of the subject had come rather from the pen of a politician than from the mouth of a medical man. For Statistics from the very earliest times had been closely allied to Politics. And in fact the word 'Statistics' is derived from the root 'Statista' which means 'the State.' The earliest interpretation of the term included a description of the policies and affairs of the state. A little later, in the process of evolution, 'Statistics' came to denote more properly, a numerical description of the details of administration. It was at this stage perhaps that the Statistician became merely *an agent* of the politician and people began to express their disapprobation of his methods by declaring that "Statistics can prove anything."

Until the middle of the 18th century, Statistics was regarded merely as an art. After a series of attempts beginning with Achenwall in 1748 the development of statistics as a science was accomplished by the genius of a mathematician named Quetelet. "His work *Sur l'homme* declares emphatically the constant averages in moral statistics to be a proof that the actions of mankind are regulated by laws." (*Meitzen*) He discovered some of the more important statistical laws such as the law of Norms, the law of Inertia of large numbers which enabled the statistician to carry scientific investigations into the sphere of social activities. It may be freely admitted however that statistics is only a progressive science. It is in fact an auxiliary science and its progressive application to various spheres of knowledge has been restricted by the degree

of systematisation attained in them. It is also noteworthy that this constitutes an important difference between statistics and mathematics inasmuch as statistics is not really an abstract science. Nevertheless the dignified association of statistics with mathematics has given currency to the expression that "figures do not lie" and has raised the statistician from the position of an unprincipled hireling to that of a truthful assistant.

A great deal of ill-informed misconception appears to exist in the minds of educated Indians as regards the true functions of a statistician. It is supposed, for instance, that the duty of a statistician is merely to record figures. If the business of an accountant is something different from that of a ledger-keeper, how much more so, is the business of a statistician from that of a recording clerk. Broadly speaking, the functions of a statistician are twofold, namely, (1) he has to impart instruction and give directions as to what figures are to be recorded and how and (2) he has to undertake to interpret and manipulate the figures so recorded with a view to draw conclusions, institute comparisons and even discover causal relationship between phenomena where possible. The first part of the business of a statistician may appear to be simpler than what it really is. The second part calls for ingenuity of a higher order, an ingenuity based upon a knowledge of scientific and technical methods as well as a very intimate acquaintance with the subject (*e. g.*, Economics, Anthropology, or Biology, etc.) which offers scope for statistical method of enquiry. The object of statistics is to present a panoramic view of a group of variables possessing a common characteristic with a view to facilitate comparisons being instituted or conclusions being drawn by the ordinary mind. In the process of summarisation of groups the statistician goes much further than totalling or averaging. The study is from the simple to the complex and various measures of dispersion, skewness, kurtosis, etc., as well as methods of

frequency distribution, sampling, interpolation and correlation have been invented to obtain as complete and detailed an analysis of groups as possible. The incomes of people in two or more towns, the productions of khaddar in two or more periods, the lengths of leaves in two or more trees could not be effectively analysed and compared without the help of the more complex methods of statistics.

Sir Athelstone Baines, late Census Commissioner for India, records the statement of a highly esteemed Indian that Hindus regard statistics with a philosophical and spiritualistic contempt. Let me hope that the Hindu economists at any rate by encouraging a mathematical and practical bent of mind in the study of economic problems would be able to refute such a statement. Prof. Marshall was not slow to recognise the importance of statistics as "the straw out of which I, like every other economist, have to make the bricks." Later developments of inductive methods in the handling of economic facts and phenomena emphasize more than ever the indispensibility of statistics as the groundwork for specialisation and research in every branch of Economic Science. In this connection I cannot do better than quote the following remark by Prof. Bowley of the London University :—

"No student of Political Economy can pretend to complete equipment unless he is master of the methods of statistics, knows its difficulties, can see where accurate figures are possible, can criticise the statistical evidence, and has an almost instinctive perception of the reliance that he may place on the estimates given him."

The services of Statistics to Economics have been closely discussed by Professor Mayo-Smith. Let me briefly indicate the nature of these services :—

1. *Verification of Economic Theories :*

Individual figure for supply and price quotations may be much unrelated with one another and

the theory of prices can only be established by manipulation of figures by methods of curve fitting, etc.

2. *Comparison of Economic groups :*

The pecuniary conditions of wage earners in two periods in a country could not be effectively compared without the help of summary tables of averages combined with measures of dispersions, etc., since figures for wages might ordinarily show improvement in some and decline in other centres.

3. *Estimation of economic effects of state policies :*

The reduction in the duties on petrol or salt, the increase in the import duty on pig iron, for example, would always call for the interpretation of figures so as to establish a trend which would isolate the effects of newly introduced causes.

4. *Induction of Economic laws and Correlation of Economic phenomena :*

Engel's law of consumption is an instance in point. The principle that the higher the income the less the proportionate expenditure on food, etc., was established by Engel by an extensive method of sampling on the basis of a study of 10,000 family budgets in Belgium. Further, various economic investigations, such as relation between interest rate and wages, between wage-movement and rent, between rent and size of family, between food prices and house-rent, etc., cannot be carried on without a knowledge of correlation methods.

The services rendered by Statistics to modern commerce cannot be too strongly emphasised. With the growth of scientific management the modern businesses houses have in many instances thought fit to create a department of statistics and the insistence on the collection and presentation of

statistical matter in various spheres of business activity by the Government departments has become only too common. The Department of Statistics under the Director General of Commercial Intelligence was started to meet the requirements of business firms in India and the reorganisation of this department on a rather extensive and expensive scale has been warmly advocated by the Indian Economic Enquiry Committee, 1925. It was only the other day that Mr. Grantham in the Associated Chamber of Commerce, while recognising the laudable attempts of Government to provide labour statistics in Bombay, urged the need for extension and co-ordination of the same through the agency of the Government of India, Department of Industries and Labour.

It has been pointed out by Boddington that the services of the Statistician are more valuable to the businessman than even those of the Accountant. For the businessman in the conduct of business has to depend on estimates, on his calculations of the probabilities of the future and statistics is only a science of estimates based on the theory of probabilities. The calculations would presuppose, no doubt, a knowledge of conditions in various spheres but ultimately when reduced to quantitative data must be manipulated with a conscious or unconscious application of statistical methods. "The tasks which confront the businessman may without undue straining be placed in three classes" *viz.*,

(i) "The technical tasks which arise in the processes of production involving problems of Chemistry and Physics, of Engineering, of Animal Husbandry, of Navigation, etc."

(ii) The activities connected with internal administration so as to promote economies and prevent wastes, etc.; and last but not the least,

(iii) the operations connected with purchase and sale and all the attendant activities which are carried on with a view to securing a surplus over costs.

The solution of problems in the last-named spheres of activity and particularly the third would require the methods of statistical analysis of results to secure the elimination as far as possible of uncertainties in the estimates of the future. The scientific management of business must progress side by side with ever-increasing applications of statistical methods to business estimates. In fact, some of the businesses, like Insurance for example, would not be anything superior to gambling but for the construction of life tables based on a probable duration of life at certain ages, the calculation whereof has been rendered possible with the assistance of highly specialised knowledge of statistics.

SURENDRA NARAYAN BANERJEE

THE PATH OF SHADOW CAST BY THE SUN ON THE GROUND

The line joining the centres of the sun and the earth revolves round the earth's axis, and every day, except during the equinoxes, generates a cone which is cut by the apparent horizon of all places. The sections are circles under the poles, parabolas, ellipses or hyperbolas in the frigid zones according as the latitude of the place is equal to or greater or less than the complement of the declination of the sun on that day. In the torrid and temperate zones the sections always are hyperbolas, save during the equinoxes when the sections are straight lines all over the globe.

Now since the sun's parallax is practically *nil*, we fix a pointed pin in the ground in the sun any afternoon, and observe the progress of its shadow.

We see that the shadow of the point of the pin, *i.e.*, the point of the shadow always walks in the wake of a line of the sun's ray which, passing just over the point of the pin, meets the earth, and travels eastward as the sun goes westward. We also observe that the eastern part of the line moves upwards while the western part with the sun goes downwards, the point of the pin serving as a pivot.

At sunset the shadow disappears and the line of ray is cut by the earth or some other opaque object coming between the pin and the sun. But the sun still shines in places west to us; we therefore reasonably assume that the western part of the line, passing through the earth in the night, reappears next morning accompanied by the shadow of the pin. Thus the line completes a circuit in 24 hours and generates a cone, having the point of the pin for its vertex and a line parallel to the axis of the earth for its axis. This cone is similar

to that made by the line joining the sun's and the earth's centres and is likewise cut by our horizon. The section is the path of the shadow of our pin.

Instead of the pin you may take the Ochterlony Monument of Calcutta. This minaret traces on the maidan one southern branch of a grand hyperbola of great eccentricity (2.32076) on the 21st of June, and the other northern branch on the 21st of December every year. The centre of the hyperbola is due north of the tower at a distance about half its height (50991).

To return to our pin; as one point of the pin describes a conic, so will do any point you take in the pin or in any opaque body—a tree, a hill, a wall, etc., erect or inclined.

The above is true only if besides the parallax, the variations of the sun's declination in one day, the refraction and other astronomical niceties are overlooked, not to say, of the unevenness of the ground and the declivity of the surface of the earth.

SYED MOHAMMED HAIDAR

SARATCHANDRA CHATTERJEE

The time has certainly not come, when we can pronounce with any confidence the definitive verdict of history on the genius of Saratchandra Chatterjee. We live too close to him and are too intimately affected by the problems to which he gives expression to be able to regard his works without personal bias, and with the perfect detachment of the philosopher. And yet the fact of his phenomenal popularity, and of his recognition by a great University, are so significant in themselves as to compel our attention. If his ideals have exasperated the conservative element in society, it has no less acted as an inspiration to the progressive element,—so that even if we cannot venture to appraise him, still less can we afford to ignore him.

Besides, contemporary judgments are by no means always useless. When a writer stirs the minds of his contemporaries as profoundly as Saratchandra has done, and creates such a violent disturbance in our usually placid social atmosphere, it is good to look into the cause of such commotion and enquire dispassionately, whether the cause lies in our own morbid excitability or in the soul-compelling might of the artist's presentation of the sense which he perceives behind the crude facts of life. Self-knowledge, for the individual as well as for society, is of supreme value, for it enables us to absolve ourselves from our own prejudices and preconceptions. It is on such considerations alone that one feels tempted to analyse the mind and art of our great contemporary. And if in so doing, I am led away from the main theme to abstract discussions, I am sure readers will recognise the exigencies of the subject-matter, and pardon such digressions.

(1)

After all, no man, however great and original he may be, can be studied entirely separated from antecedents and

environments. There is a movement in all human affairs and every event or individual is the product of past history and present surroundings. Saratchandra Chatterjee is not an irrelevant phenomenon in our literature. His emergence is so connected with our literary history of the past half-a-century, that we may almost view him as the inevitable culmination of a logical process of events. The trend of this process was to give rise to a heightened and expanded social consciousness which tried to overflow all restrictions and include within its sympathetic understanding every element of humanity. Old barriers were swept aside, new avenues of social development were eagerly explored. Such a spirit undoubtedly had an iconoclastic element,—sometimes explicit, at others implied—but always present in every literary production of the age. It was a condition produced, as has been so often explained, by the impact of the West on the East. We sought to justify all that we did with the help of science and an exacting gospel of utility. We became apologists of our own faith. The conflict between our sub-conscious prejudices and our intellectual doubts created a hazy mental atmosphere, so that when Bankim Chandra tried to deal with certain facts of life, (not representative certainly,—for art always favours the uniqueness of the original to the monotony of the usual) he evaded the conclusion to which his premises led by adopting a subtle *deus ex machina*, which fails to satisfy us to-day. Our entire mental outlook has changed, our self-confidence in our own reason has become enormous. The natural consequence has been the emancipation of our individuality from all restrictions, except those dictated by our own intellectual faculties. As a corollary, we have been all too ready to grant the same individuality to all our fellow-men. Thus we have been indirectly rationalised into an all-pervasive sympathy for man as such; our sympathies for human failings, our recognition of human virtues, our realisation that the individual has the right to separate itself from social restrictions, have all become aggressively emphatic.

Perhaps this is not based on an emotional perception of the essential unity that binds humanity, and which is the ultimate basis of universal love; perhaps, it is an entirely intellectual conclusion, arrived at through abstract reason. But what is relevant for our purpose is that our ideas about morality, *i.e.*, the duties of man as circumscribed by society, have undergone fundamental modifications. We look upon the violation of social law as a temporary aberration of our reason or the inexplicable manifestation of forces acting behind our sub-conscious life,—something that is psychologically explicable, and therefore morally excusable. These conclusions were supported by European thought of the last century, as focussed in Browning or in Ibsen, and seemed to be strengthened by the eclectic study of Hindu philosophy as a revulsion from the exclusive devotion to western culture. Some appealed to the pantheism of the *Upanishads*, which discountenanced all ideas of absolute evil; some appealed to the famous lines of Chandidas

শুনিহে মানুষ ভাই,—
সবার উপরে মানুষ সত্য
তাহার উপরে নাই।

The rationalism of Ibsen, the pantheism of the Hindu philosophy, and the emotional perception of the Divine element in humanity as characteristic of the *Vaishnavas*,—all these divergent forces emphasised one conclusion, *viz.*,—the inviolable sanctity of the human soul,—of course from altogether different standpoints.

Here then, we have the basis of Saratchandra's attitude to life,—an attitude, as we see, not novel or original, as of a revolutionary thinker, but the outcome of forces which have been acting through us since the West broke in upon our intellectual stupor and stagnation. He is a *humanist*, to whom the study and appreciation of the mind of man is a thing of paramount importance. Man must be judged apart from all social

or moral laws as he is in himself. In his sincerity, his steadfast adherence to the truth of his own self-expression depends his own purity. This is the axis round which Saratchandra's entire philosophy of life rotates. We cannot, according to him, lay down an absolute and impersonal standard, and demand conformity with it as the only way of moral absolution. Therefore, he refuses to sit in judgment over his fellow-men. In *Sri-Kanta*, this idea is vividly expressed :

"When man professes to understand the human mind, and, without leaving it to God, takes upon himself the task of judging it,—my shame for my fellow-beings knows no end."

Before the frailties of human life, man's puny judgment—should stand abashed at its own incapacity. Rabindranath Tagore, in his soul-searching masterpiece, *The Home and the World*, likewise protests against the dogmatic judgments of moralists on human nature. He says :

"We dismiss these joys and sorrows by comparing them with our worldly experience, with our scriptural prescriptions, with a name, as either good or bad. But has this fountain of pain that is overflowing the bosom of this gloom any name? In the darkness of that night, as I stood amidst the silence of those numberless stars, and looked at her, my mind cried out in terror,—Who am I to judge? Oh life, Oh Infinite Universe, Oh Lord of this Infinitude, I clasp my hands and bow down before the mystery that is in you."

Two ideas stand out prominently in this attitude towards the problems of the human mind. One is, an awe-stricken reverence for the inexplicable mystery of the human soul—a fact which all great artists have been forced to acknowledge. Man is powerless with his limited intelligence, with his incomplete perceptions, to fathom the depths of the human soul in its wayward revolt against the mechanism of life. No man, except he whose soul has been rescued from all materiality—"pinnacled dim in the intense inane"—can claim for himself the

knowledge of his own innermost being. We are ourselves often startled by our sudden impulses, abrupt decisions, and insensate actions. Therefore the highest philosophy of all countries have enjoined self-knowledge as the road to salvation. But the artist deals with man as he is in actual life. He sees the thousand contradictions blended in a single personality; he finds that it is impossible for any man, unless gifted with Prospero-like prescience, to anticipate how an individual will act when confronted with a particular set of circumstances. He finds that events, insignificant in themselves, are often sufficient to raise a whirlwind of doubt in the mind of a man, which may sweep him off the beaten track of life into dangerous experiments and experiences. A great German critic said of Shakespeare that Shakespeare was never so great as when he upsets all our forecasts;—meaning thereby that we can never positively calculate the course of action any of the characters of his dramas will adopt in moments of supreme crisis;—and this is not because Shakespeare is capricious in his dramatic expression, but because he recognises the infinite mystery that invests the mind of man,—a mystery which we are incompetent to dissolve. Similarly, it is with the art of Saratchandra. When *Birāj-bow*, the noblest creation of the novelist,—of whom we can truly say, that “she is more pure than the rains, more chaste than the dew-falls, more holy than stars are that live without a stain”—suddenly left her husband, her action might seem inconsistent with the entire context of her character, but yet we feel that the artist is here right;—that in this sudden, impulsive negation of her real self, we see the re-action of a sensitive soul maddened by the gross facts of existence, which she finds it impossible to combat. An artist like Thomas Hardy, would have seen in such apparently inexplicable problems, the supreme irony that underlies human life, and would have derived therefrom an overwhelming sense of pity for the impotence of man. But Saratchandra frankly confesses the impossibility of analysing the springs of action of any

individual, and this feeling overwhelms him with a sense of the wonderful mystery of the human soul. And it is this note of wonder that interpenetrates all his novels like a subtle pervasive atmosphere, filling the reader with the supreme joy of realisation.

The other idea that arrests our attention is the note of concrete humanity which such an outlook favours. Morality in the popular sense is an abstraction of our intellect. It is the result of the discipline which our reason imposes upon our passions. Therefore, the more intense the morality of a man, and the more passionate his adherence to a code of moral laws, the more pitilessly impersonal does he become. Yet the normal man instinctively recoils from impersonal abstractions. And art, which follows the temperamental needs of the average man is likewise averse to all categorical dogmas of morality. In Saratchandra's novels, we are faced with his passionate refusal to limit the human mind within any codified system. Nothing is sacred to him except the integrity of the human mind. He seems to believe with Emerson that "whoso would be a man, must be a nonconformist," must be vividly original in his self-expression. He must be a law unto himself;—the key to understand him or explain him must not be sought outside his own self in any abstract system, but it must be sought within his own character. Saratchandra emphasises this in his *Sri-Kanta* :—

"The mind of man is infinite :is this merely a verbal dictum ? Why can you not realise that innumerable marvels collected from your innumerable past lives are contained in this infinitude, and when once startled, they can smash into atoms your spurious philosophy, your so-called learning, your vaunted capacity to understand mankind. Do you not remember even this, that it is the dwelling place of the Infinite ?"

Such an attitude of mind necessarily isolates each individual and exalts it to a lofty eminence in the kingdom of self, and the anarchy which it favours is certainly antagonistic to

social discipline. "For society," said Emerson, "is everywhere in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members." But non-conformity with social laws does not mean a negation of that higher morality, which is "the integrity of our own mind." "Good and bad are but names, very readily transferable to that or this; the only right is what is after my constitution; the only wrong, what is against it." Saratchandra insists on the recognition of the incontestable right of each individual to be his own self and nothing else, for it is in his own *being* that he can realise his humanity. He is not an automaton regulated by external forces, but an organism vibrating with the energy of a mysterious power. And the *motif* of his work is to suggest this mystery of the human soul, as embodied in different individuals when these individuals are determined to be themselves; and to refuse to pass *a priori* judgments, on human actions, which often become supreme denial of justice.

But concerned as we are with the influence of such ideas on the creations of art, let us pause here to see how far Saratchandra's ideas have helped him as an artist. In the first place, it has focussed his attention on the separate existence of the individual. And "the virtue of art lies in detachment, in sequestering one object from embarrassing variety." As a result his characters stand out in bold relief against the background of society, and are endowed with vital and distinctive personality,—vivid, original, unique. His intensity of realisation and his extraordinary sensibility to the fleeting perceptions of life enforced by his doctrine of individualism, endow his mind with a receptivity, that helps him to visualise each character in a perspective of detachment, giving it clearness of outline, separateness of existence, and that unrealisable something which constitutes the uniqueness of life.

In the second place, Saratchandra's creations have a poignant force which haunts us long after we have ceased to be interested in them. Their grip over our imagination is not loosened with the lapse of time. They are stamped on

our minds for ever, and leave behind a sharpness of impression which is ineffaceable. In our ordinary intercourse of life, we come across many persons, who are colourless, and leave no impression on us. But now and then, we meet with a character bristling with originality, whom we can never forget. It is in the representation of such characters that Saratchandra is incomparably superior to any novelist in modern Bengal. He does not emphasise the peculiarities that make these characters so vividly original and thus make them arresting caricatures of reality, as Dickens did. He is a realist in his method, —not imitative certainly, trying to achieve photographic exactitude to real life, but creative with the confidence of an artist whose insight into the essentials of a character introduces those subtle modifications and mutations which vitalise certain isolated traits of character into a synthetic personality.

In the third place, this feeling of wonder in the presence of complex human characters enable him even when dealing with the most pressing problems of our society to avoid intellectual arguments which freeze the flexibility of creative genius. Saratchandra never surveyed any problem abstracted from all human associations. He never allowed the problems to modify the mind of men but he viewed each problem as it is affected and modified by the human mind. For him, no problem can have any separate existence, but the importance of every problem depends on its influence on a human personality.

Thus, by seeking to study the mind of man as affected by the problems of life, and to realise the infinite and insoluble mystery of the human soul, Saratchandra is not only able to create vital characters, but is also able to inspire and control our emotional nature so as to satisfy one of the supreme requirements of art.

(2)

We see that Saratchandra is fundamentally an individualist. As a matter of fact, he carries this individualism

to anarchic extremes. Anything which is inimical to the freedom of the individual mind arouses his vehement opposition. And here again we have another reason why he is fiercely distrusted as a petulant iconoclast by those who seek to uphold the authority of society inviolate.

Our society has ceased to be dynamic. In order to protect itself from being overwhelmed and absorbed by an alien culture, it has refused to enter into any compromise with the shifting spirit of the times, and it has used all the sophistry of an ingenious logic to stereotype customs, which, perhaps, were never meant to be permanent elements of our social system. Thus it has reduced individual freedom to a minimum; and instead of a healthy adaptability to changing environments, a narrow and insular dogmatism in our mental outlook has come into existence. But society being an organism can never flourish in stagnation. If it is to survive, it must harmonise itself with the demands of the age, whatever it be,—the punishment of resistance being catastrophic revolution. For good or for evil, we have been thrown into contact with a civilisation, which has evolved after the travail of centuries, a mental attitude towards life and its problems which is fundamentally opposed to our attitude. And because that civilisation is something vital, we can afford to ignore it as little as we can ignore a sudden change in our climatic condition.

This demand to modify our outlook and institutions in accordance with the spirit of the times, is at the root of Saratchandra's attitude towards our social problems. He says that our society, by its refusal of expansion and development, has become as impersonal as any abstract dogma. It feels no pity for the problems and the pains of the individual. It makes no concession to the agony of the individual soul. As he declared, in one of his earlier novels:

"A society which refuses to realise the agony of the afflicted, which refuses to give us hope in our travails, which only frowns and forbids and punishes, is not for me or men like me." (*Parinitā*.)

His greatest indictment against inflexible social discipline is that by trying to follow it and uphold it, we are liable to lose our humanity, and introduce sectarian narrowness and bigotry even when our relations with our fellow-men ought to be sweetened by the touch of the human and the personal. Perhaps an extreme form of individualism is ruinous to the preservation of society. But Saratchandra is an artist; and the artist in him protests against the mutilation of a human mind, whatever its ultimate object may be. Again and again, he portrays a character set up against hostile surroundings, and he identifies himself with the individual and indicates unmistakably his sympathies for its sufferings and distress. Let me once again refer to a passage in *Sri-Kanta*, his masterpiece. He is discussing the caste-system, with special reference to the restraint it imposes upon individual freedom. He says,

"It may be that the caste-system is a marvellous institution. Indeed, when for so many years, it has helped the Hindu society to preserve itself, we can hardly question its stupendous utility. And perhaps it is madness to think that it ought to relax its fetters even by an inch because some unfortunate girl, in some sequestered corner of the country has been obliged to do away with her life in sheer despair for her pitiful helplessness. But the man who has seen the agony of that girl,—can never shelve this question from his mind with the consoling reflection, that self-preservation is the only aim of society."

Here we see the response of the soul of the artist to human sin and suffering. The birth of a work of art is always due to the response of a sensitive soul to the soul that is outside his own but is his own familiar kindred, for it leads to a realisation of the mystery of the mind of a man spontaneously, as though by a flash of sudden intuition.

Such appreciation of the human mind emphasises Saratchandra's sympathies for the individual. But it is not entirely an uncritical attitude inspired by an innate anarchism of temperament. He says:—

"Everything has its own peculiar privileges. When society in

its fury, oversteps the bounds of its privileges, it invites retaliation, and this retaliation can by no means destroy the social organism. It only awakes it from its dreams and illusions."

And again,

"Just as it is a fact that if the individual seeks to assert itself in all things society cannot exist, so also, if society constantly seeks to interpose its authority, the individual must perish. Neither the individual nor society can be regarded as infallible. Each has its own fixed limits, and if either oversteps these limits through ignorance or through passion, there is bound to come a most disastrous re-action."

But these limits can never be final; they are expanding or contracting according to the needs of the time. "They are regulated by the same law which regulates the universe."

As criticism of the disease that afflicts our society, these ideas must be pronounced to be sublimely vague. Intellectual strength is not the most characteristic feature of Saratchandra's work, and we do not go to him for the solution of our social problems and perplexities. The problems are there; we feel their existence in that loss of harmony and rhythm which constantly creates discord within us. The artist comes forward, and arrests them, once for all, in an eternal embodiment. It is not his business to solve problems, but to state them vitalised by his own emotional perceptions. As a matter of fact, it is not the least among Saratchandra's distinctions, that he has systematically refused to be drawn into a discussion of the problems of life which he states with such intensity. He is not concerned with the subtle exposition of the intellectual doubts of mankind, which is the function of philosophy, but his aim is the interpretation of the human mind as affected by these doubts and problems. This interpretation is extorted out of the artist's soul by the sheer and unavoidable need of self-expression; there cannot be any dialectical compromise. In reading Saratchandra's novels, it is this "inevitability" that casts its spell upon us, and compels our admiration. We see in them, a sincere and sensitive soul at grips with the realities of our worldly existence, trying to understand these realities

not by cultivating a dignified detachment, but by projecting himself into them, and thinking from that assumed position. He seems to have lost his own personality in the facts which imprint themselves upon him. By a supreme negation of individuality, he feels the pains, the problems, the doubts of the creations of his own mind,—his own “dream-children.” He does not trifle with life; “does not play stage-tricks with problems of life and death;” he abases himself before the mystery of a human soul in all humility and with complete self-surrender, and a corner of the veil is lifted to enable him to have a glimpse into the myriad-sided multiplicity of human life.

(3)

But if Saratchandra were himself asked, on what aspect of his work he would stake his reputation for immortality, he would, I believe, without doubt, declare it to be his championship of the “woman’s cause.” In this, he is a pioneer. He began his literary career by a series of letters, written under a feminine pseudonym, in which he sought to interpret the woman’s soul and the problems that afflict her destiny. Since then, in almost every novel that he has written, it is on the heroine that he has focussed the brilliant rays of his subtle intellect—“anatomising her heart” with a power that baffles analysis. And his realisation of the feminine problem has made him a most intrepid advocate of woman’s freedom, and thus has again brought him in conflict with orthodox opinions, as they exist in our society.

In one sense, this attitude is the inevitable result of his humanism and his individualism. His ideas of the inalienable right of each individual to be free to work out his own ideals and aspirations is completely neutralised by the scanty opportunities that our society offers to our women. He is impassioned by an overwhelming sympathy with the helpless state of our womanhood, more pathetic because it has been reduced almost

to a state of atrophied sensibility. The deep distress of the woman's mind, has, as it were, humanised his soul. "Ah me! the daughter of Bengal," he exclaims, "for countless generations through the untold centuries, they are being sacrificed at the altar of our scriptural laws."

This sympathy is further intensified by his perception of the essential nobility of the woman's soul. Her infinite capacity for suffering, her all-pervasive love for humanity, her instinctive sympathy for all our woes and travails, her selflessness, the way in which she dedicates herself to service and love—all these inspire in him a boundless feeling of reverence, and a regard for her as the better half of this human world. There are critics, whose attention is so completely hypnotised by the *Kironmoyees* and the *Achalas* of his novels, that they entirely forget those numberless characters, instinct "with the eternal feminine," the like of which few other novelists have been able to create. It may seem the language of exaggerated enthusiasm, but if we dispassionately review the splendid gallery of Saratchandra's heroines, where else shall we find the rivals of *Birāj-bow*, *Romā*, *Sāvitri*, *Bijoyā*, *Annadā*, and others too numerous to be mentioned. It is because he has been able to fathom the depths of the woman's soul "deeper than did ever plummet sound," that he declares he has "never been able to look down upon any woman, whatever she may seem judged by conventional standards." He can never say what springs of nobility are held down in the bosom of a Hindu woman. As he explains in one of his novels,

"It is impossible to sum up an entire womanhood in any sweeping adjective..... There are women before whom the mind is instinctively humble, who can keep their serenity in the face of the greatest crises of life."

I have spoken of Saratchandra's advocacy of the emancipation of woman. But his ideas are in consonance with the age-long ideals of the Hindus. He regards woman as the

ministering angel to human sufferings and woes, full of the milk of human kindness, with an unbounded capacity for love and a limitless passion for service and self-dedication,—qualities that make for softness and “sweet attractive grace.” His women find their completion in men. Woman can never be self-complete in herself. Her fulfilment lies in her union with man. He has no desire to intellectualise woman, but he wants to secure for her greater independence, derived from a tolerant recognition of her suffering and her service.

In his more recent novels, he insinuates an indignant protest against the institution of marriage when it degenerates into union that is merely physical and mechanical—not spiritual and intellectual. Now, though this is entirely in harmony with the gradual growth of rationalism in the modern world, when sentiments are being shelved into the dreary background of moral abstractions, and we study everything under the searchlight of a de-sentimentalised reason, yet the fact that it is quite opposed to the “historic consciousness” of our society, has raised issues which must be faced boldly. It is said—and with perfect justice—that the ultimate aim of art,—of which literature is an aspect—is to impart a moral tone to society; and any fact that acts against the moral interests of society, must be rejected. An attack on the fundamental institutions of life is certainly likely to dissolve the cementing bonds which hold together the elements in any civilised society; and granted that art is hand-maiden to our moral life, the conclusion seems legitimate that the movement engineered by Saratchandra must be discountenanced by all interested in the good of humanity. But let us go a little deeper.

The truth of any work of art lies in its sincerity—its intense, and spontaneous, representation of certain facts as perceived by a sensitive soul. The artist is under an innate compulsion to express these facts; it is impossible for him to be actuated by any idea of effecting compromise between such

ideas, and those prevalent round about him. He is thus the creator of his own age. His function is not to subordinate himself to society, but to vitalise society—to make society think and grapple with the complex processes of life. He comes to the “susceptible reader” with a “challenge for minute consideration.” The true artist, therefore, who has felt deeply, and thought profoundly, can never concern himself with the effects of his works on his environments, for the compulsive power of his perception of the facts of life refuses self-suppression. Renunciation of the privilege of eternising what he has realised in his inmost being is for him impossible.

Neither should society seek to shut him out of its audience chamber, and thus refuse all consideration to his interpretation of life. For this “challenge for minute consideration” has the direct effect of vitalising the dormant energies of society and rousing its self-introspective moods. A decadent society need only fear the assaults of ideas not in harmony with its ideals; but such a society carries within itself the germs of its own dissolution, and no amount of injection of wholesome moral precepts will sterilise those germs. But a living society has the power to reject as well as to receive. It has the privilege of modifying its own structure according to the changing needs of the time. It has also the power of refusing any modification which is inconsistent with its history or its ideals. This selective power to reject or to assimilate the changes affecting its atmosphere society exercises quite unconsciously,—as spontaneously as a living organism does with regard to the atmosphere which surrounds it.

Therefore, the student of literature is concerned primarily with the truth of the artist's perceptions and representations;—“the bare, sheer, penetrating truth” which enables him to go deep down into the soul of the thing, and thereby to realise, what Pater calls “the peculiar sense of fact.” The presentment of truth is the essence of the artistic quality. Herein consists the supreme strength and absolution of Saratchandra's

art. We see in his works, not merely the transcription or the reproduction of the facts of life, but "the representation of such facts as connected with a specific personality, in its preferences, its volitions and power." And because it is so, because it bears the mark of supreme realisation, it cannot be ignored, and must always demand the deepest consideration that we can bestow upon it. It stimulates the collective thinking capacity of society, and thus fulfils the highest function of literature.

The essential moral atmosphere of Saratchandra's novels, however is supplied by his treatment of conjugal love, which has nothing of the reckless abandon of a violent passion, which many a modern novelist in Bengal is trying to introduce into our literature. It is in the representation of this, that his difference with the West is most conspicuous, and he affiliates himself naturally with our inherited tradition.

It will not be quite true to say that love as we see in European literature, is absent in his novels. Often it is outrageously present. But as a rule, love is not the staple food of his novels. In the West, the treatment of love occupies a position out of all proportion with the other sentiments of life,—as though love were the dominant force in the life of a man. But if we look into real life, how small a place does love occupy in the scheme of man's everyday life! Supreme realist that he is, Saratchandra recognises this simple fact, and its recognition saves him from a single irritating pre-occupation. This is why his novels are throbbing with the pulsations of life that refuse to be stereotyped in, or held in bondage to, a single idea.

Apart from this, his treatment of love is something quite different from what we are accustomed to find in the West. It is shrouded in an atmosphere of reticence—as though there is something sacred in the passion, which shrinks from the contamination of public display. To the Hindu, conjugal love is holy, and is to be nurtured in the silent depths of the hearts.

of the husband and the wife. Saratchandra seldom violates the sanctity of this idea. True love with him, is not a burning, consuming physical passion, nor even an impalpable platonic friendship, but the soul to soul communion between the husband and the wife,—a feeling which protects them like a rarefied atmosphere, spiritualising their whole outlook on life, and which being an atmosphere, constantly surrounds them, thus discountenancing the influence of separation and dissolving the possibility of mutual misunderstanding. It is a feeling marked by a subtle self-absorption that escapes analysis, and must be enjoyed through the heart.

(4)

There is one aspect of Saratchandra's work in which there is a definite breach with the cult of modernity. It is his attitude to the problems of life. Modern literature is gradually becoming analytical and intellectual in its representation of problems which affect the destiny of man as an individual or as a social unit. This is the age of Ibsen,—and under the influence of that master-mind, the artist of to-day seeks to study problems from a standpoint of abstract and impersonal detachment. But Saratchandra has always fought shy of these problems of life. For him, the proper study of mankind is man. His problems are the problems of the human mind; he is fascinated by its complex intricacy, its baffling contradictions, its evasive tendencies. If he is at all attracted by a social or political problem, it is only so far as such problems influence and modify the mind of man. In one respect he has a natural affinity with Browning. He takes a pleasure in laying bare the complexities of the mind of man, and it is this pleasure that thrills his works with the artist's joy of creation. Like Browning, he never approaches any subject with any intellectual bias or prepossession. But it is difficult to abstract from his work a definite philosophy; and here he is one step removed

from Browning. For Browning gradually evolved a philosophy out of his studies in the human mind, which may be regarded as a message. But Saratchandra gives us no message. He stirs our mind and sets it working; he creates in us, "a certain disposition of the mind," which Pater characterises as an attitude of "impassioned contemplation." But he never takes upon himself as Wordsworth or Browning or Rabindranath does, the task of giving a direction to our mind. He is an intellectual stimulant;—setting problems before us which he does not solve; inspiring questions within us which he refuses to answer; making us intellectually alert, but refusing to mould our intellect according to any scheme of philosophy. In all this he is curiously like Shakespeare. For inspite of his inquisitive commentators, who would be so bold as to evolve out of the cross-currents of human passions as we see in Shakespeare, a stereotyped philosophy of life, such as we can and do evolve in the case of Wordsworth and Goethe, Rabindranath and Browning? Shakespeare is essentially elusive; he has baffled the attempts of acute-minded scholars to get the key to the secrets of life, which we feel he possesses. We are confident also that Saratchandra has this key to the mysteries of life; else it would have been impossible for him to realise that Shakespearean serenity of temperament, which subdues all disturbance of the soul. With his knowledge of the weaknesses, the littleness of the human mind, with his insight into the creeks and crevices of the human heart where the subtle bacilli of sin germinate, his robust faith in the essential greatness of the human mind comes as a strange revelation.

Saratchandra's primary obsession, therefore, is the analysis of the mysterious complexities of human nature as it exists in society. And he is at his best when he is confronted by the problem of a human mind in conflict with traditional ideals of life,—the force of which he cannot ignore but the repressive influence of which raises in him a violent feeling of protest. The eternal conflict of Laocoon—which symbolises the eternal

struggle that a powerful mind wages with his own lurid passions,—struggling in vain to annihilate and extinguish their all-consuming fury,—fascinates Saratchandra; and it is the realisation of this conflict deep down in the depths of his heart that imparts to his novels a throbbing, palpitating life,—a grim reticence that seems to imprison and hold in check energies that one cannot measure. Indeed, in this quality of concentrated reticence, Saratchandra has few equals, for he has realised that passions, when deeply moved, fail to be self-expressive.

DHIRENDRANATH GHOSH

A ROYAL UNMAKING

Now the Great King troubled asked of his Seers and Soothsayers,
“When is the End of Sorrow?” But none could answer except the Court
Jester who laughing, seized his lute and sweeping the strings, replied in the
following manner—

Fill me a cup of Sabine wine,
I would drink to the Lady of Sorrow,
To the unknown hour of her last dead vine—
An empty throne and a vacant shrine,
—On the Dawn that knows no Morrow—

Bring me the grape of purple stain,
I would feast to the Slayer of Laughter,
To the unknown time of a vanquished reign—
The faded flower of a regal wane,
—On the Day that knows none after—

Find me a lute in silver strung,
And I'll sing to a Royal Unmaking,
To that unknown time when a dark reign run,
Broken a Sceptre and Crown lie flung,
—On the Night that knows no waking—

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

MEMORANDUM ON POST-GRADUATE STUDIES

(With special reference to Economics and the Allied Sciences)

I. Raising the Level of Indian Culture.

The world of culture has been advancing swiftly both in methods as well as in achievements. The problem for Young India is to catch up to it at the quickest possible pace, or, at any rate, prevent by all means the gap between Indian attainments and world-culture from remaining wide.

The universities and other educational institutions of India have, therefore, from time to time to take stock of the affairs at home and abroad with a view to functioning as adequate instruments in the modernizing and up-to-datization of Indian life and scholarship. It is with the object of co-operating with those of our countrymen who have been engaged in considering the best ways and means for raising the level of Indian culture that this memorandum has been drawn up.

II. The Scale of Studies.

The pedagogic discussion embodied in this memorandum implies the following scale of intellectual culture from bottom upwards and is to be interpreted in this perspective :

A. Steps to a University :

The first stage, beginning with the Kindergarten and ending with I. A., and I. Sc., as obtaining in India to-day, is to furnish the entrance requirements to university life. During this period the student learns all the sciences and all the arts without any elimination whatsoever. Age about 17-18.

B. Undergraduate University : 4 years.

(1) The second stage, corresponding to the B.A. and B.Sc., of Indian Universities, compels the student to take either all the arts subjects or all the science subjects without elimination.

(2) The third stage, corresponding to the existing M. A., and M. Sc., compels the student to take a whole "organic group" of subjects in the arts or the science line.

C. Post-Graduate University :

The final stage (post-M. A.) allows the student to choose a single subject as major with two or three allied minors.

III. The Financial Problem.

The fundamental problem is threefold : (1) Young India must have to be at school for a longer period than at present. (2) The existing standards all along the line will have to be made more liberalizing and comprehensive. (3) Provision for real higher education (specialized, intensive, practical and up-to-date) remains yet to be made.

The question, although pedagogic, is to all intents and purposes a financial one. Patriots who have the cultural welfare of their country at heart will have to be up and doing in order to raise funds. Appeals to the Government for financial assistance will likewise have to be persistent.

IV. The Academic Standing of M.A.

1. Even if the Matriculation, Intermediate, and B. A. of our universities be considerably improved both in standard and method of teaching, the intellectual equipment of the student at the threshold of M. A. is likely to remain low, especially since a foreign language is bound to be the medium of higher education for some long time.

2. M. A. students are generally 21-23 years old. At this age no young men and women, anywhere in the world,

are expected to do high-class work as candidates for degrees, even although the mother-tongue be the medium of instruction and culture.

3. It is, therefore, desirable, both on the part of the university authorities as well as the teaching staff to be modest in regard to what the M. A. degree in India is, academically speaking, to stand for.

V. Real Post-Graduate Teaching.

1. It is time to recognize frankly that there cannot be much distinction between the B. A. honours and M. A. and that the latter should be treated in scope as but a continuation of the former.

2. Without quarrelling over the name it is necessary also to admit that real post-graduate teaching would involve (i) specialization in one or two fields, (ii) an acquaintance with the latest developments in methodology as well as conclusions (*i.e.*, everything that is worth knowing) in regard to the subject or subjects chosen by the candidate, and (iii) mastery over at least two modern European languages on the part of the scholar as well as the habitual use of books and journals in those languages.

3. This result can be attained only when there is provision for at least two full years' regular schooling at the university after the M. A., to be followed by written (and if necessary oral) examination.

4. But perhaps neither the University of Calcutta nor any other university in India is at present (i) financially or (ii) in the strength of specialized teaching staff competent enough to undertake this post-M. A. tuition.

5. Until that consummation, highly desirable as it is, can become a question of practical politics it is reasonable (i) to declare openly that real post-graduate teaching is not possible in India to-day and (ii) not to claim it for the existing M. A. work.

VI. M. A. as preliminary to Post-Graduate.

1. M. A. being what it is, the problem of an adequate curriculum is essentially a question of sound pedagogics.

2. For youths of 21-23, who may later be expected to undertake specialized studies, the scheme of instruction is to provide for a "minimum complex" of all-round encyclopaedic culture.

3. The problem consists in arranging a system which admits to the scholars' cognizance as many of the different arts and sciences or branches of arts and sciences of the higher grade as possible without any attempt at elimination.

4. M. A. may thus be expected to function as expanded B. A., *i.e.*, as serving to equip the scholar with a training in all those general principles and view-points of arts and sciences without which a specialization in any particular branch or sub-branch can but lead to an undue narrowing down of the mentality or a superficial and unphilosophical grasp of the complex and concrete reality.

VII. Items to be avoided.

1. It goes without saying that specialization or elimination in the matter of courses is not to be allowed at an early stage (*e.g.*, B. A. or M. A.), *i.e.*, on an insufficient groundwork.

2. Nobody should be permitted to submit a thesis in the place of one or two papers.

3. In the framing of syllabus or selection of books care should be taken to avoid attaching undue importance to any one school, standpoint or method of investigation.

4. While it is clear that for Indian students the knowledge of Indian topics, ancient or modern, is desirable as a matter of course, one must not make a fetish of them in any group. It need be distinctly understood that real cultural

training and discipline in methodology will come in most cases from the studies of Eur-American topics as treated by well-established authors. The Indian topics are generally to be valued as but furnishing certain data or certain problems of investigation and research.

To be obsessed by Indian material at the M. A. stage would be tantamount to courting blindness to liberal, standardized and practical education. On the other hand, the more experienced and efficient an Indian is in things Western, the more competent will he be as a servant of India,—in the realms of abstract philosophical discussion as much as in the fields of contemporary applied sociology.

VIII. The Foundations of Humanism.

In this memorandum certain disciplines have been taken to constitute the ground-work of all liberal education. These are (1) anthropology, (2) comparative psychology, (3) economic history, and (4) history of the exact sciences and technical inventions. It is in the interest of a culture at once humane and realistic, at once moral and practical, that these sciences should be admitted into everybody's sphere, no matter whether it is mainly philosophical, historical, literary or scientific. The firm and vital grip over facts and problems, both material and moral, and the humanistic attitude in regard to their solution are the chief requisites in Young India's intellectual life in order to endow it with anti-anæmic, anti-mystical and anti-speculative virility.

1. It is not enough to admit anthropology to the rank of an independent cultural unit in the scheme of studies. This science has grown during the last two decades or so to enormous proportions. No student of the B.A. stage can afford to grow up without a preliminary grounding in the principles of anthropology. It will have to be counted as a compulsory, allied discipline in the M.A. courses also,—in

history, psychology, ethics, aesthetics, philology, economic evolution, political science, etc. Anthropological training is to be regarded as an indispensable item in the irreducible minimum of humanism.

2. Like anthropology, comparative psychology also is a new science, and its cultural significance has got to be recognized in Indian universities. The experimental analysis of mental operations in the human as well as the animal world, the objective differentiation of the nervous system according to age and sex, the bearings of health and occupation on personality, as well as the results of investigation in the submerged self, abnormalities and so forth are phenomena of epoch-making importance with which no young scholar can be allowed to remain unfamiliar to-day. Especially is it necessary in India, where the sway of monistic psychology and absolutism in philosophical thought has obtained too long to the detriment of intellectual catholicity and moral freedom. The clarification and sanity of the brain such as are sure to follow the acceptance of the pluralistic conception of the mind and the doctrines of individualistic psychology will not fail to raise mankind to a higher spiritual level, compelling chauvinism, intolerance and ethical dogmatism to retire inch by inch into the limbo of pre-historic curios.

3. The value of economic history as a discipline in positivism is no less fundamental. The superstitions regarding the alleged distinction in spirit and outlook between the so-called Eastern and Western "types" of civilization, which prevail in Eur-America as well as in Asia,—among the students of science as of philosophy, literature, and what not,—will begin to disappear as soon as the stages in the economic evolution of mankind appear before the mind's eye in a realistic manner. To persons well-grounded in the objective facts of the growth of mankind in the materialistic line the perspective of culture will appear in all its clarity and unclouded horizon, and the problems of world-reconstruction,

re-making of man, social legislation and so forth that await us to-day lose much of their metaphysical vagueness. Even without accepting the extreme dogmas of the "economic interpretation of history" (economic determinism, as it is called), we shall be assured of a logical apparatus and mode of thinking in social science in which measurement, delimitation and exactitude function constantly as the curb on abstract idealism and proneness to thoughtless generalizations. And we shall learn to bid adieu to pseudo-climatology and pseudo-raciology.

4. Finally, as a healthy stimulant in all intellectual pursuits—historical, artistic, philosophical or otherwise—and as a perpetual spur to progressivism and optimistic outlook on life, the study of the exact sciences and inventions in their growth and development has to be welcome in Indian academic circles among the "most-favoured" branches of learning. Young India's intellectuals, whatever be their occupations in future, need a tonic of precise, definite, instrumental thinking; and nothing is better adapted to administer strong doses of this stuff and cure mankind of spiritual malaria than is the history of exact sciences, discoveries and inventions, especially in their recent phases.

Mankind is in for a philosophical renaissance and a rearrangement of world-forces. In order that India may keep pace with the changed circumstances it is time that she equip herself with the realistic logic of a new humanism and the creative methodology of a self-confident energism, such as can be forged out of this four-fold discipline. And with the object of assuring ourselves of this great prophylactic against anæmia in the moral plane anthropology, comparative psychology, economic history, and the history of exact sciences should be made compulsory at the B.A. stage and rendered as accessible as possible to all the M.A. students. The humanism for which this memorandum pleads will enable the educational institutions of India to take a leading part in this new anti-malaria campaign as a matter of course.

IX. "Organic Groups."

To give a few illustrations, at random, of what is meant by an "organic group" or "minimum complex."

1. Comparative philology should not be regarded as an isolated study at the M.A. stage. Courses in psychology, logic, archaeology, anthropology, geography and the history of civilization should constitute the cultural background of the philologist. An elementary course in the principles and history of extra-Indian and non-Indo-Aryan languages, namely, Chinese and Arabic, is to be introduced. And finally, courses of studies in the developments of Assamese, Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Oriya, etc., should not be admitted without an orientation to the corresponding studies,—independent although elementary,—of the modern European languages.

2. In the scheme of studies in ancient Indian culture it is absolutely necessary to introduce the cultural history of Egypt, Babylon, Persia, China, Greece, Rome and mediaeval Europe in order to set the sociological perspective. Nobody could do justice to the achievements of Hindu civilization who happened to be weak in the knowledge of European institutions and ideals, say, from Pythagoras to Dante. It is also desirable to introduce certain liberalizing studies, *e.g.*, methodology, the history of literature, fine arts, philosophy etc., anthropology, specimens of historical classics in the European languages, and economic history. There is a tendency in the prevailing academic circles to study ancient and medieval India in a state of "splendid isolation." This is a most vicious practice.

3. Philosophy has to be made objective by the introduction of economic studies and political history. Anthropology and applied sociology should likewise have a place in the philosophical group. A course in the progress of the exact sciences and technical inventions in recent times is also a

desideratum. The student of philosophy must also be made to realize the influences of experimental psychology.

4. The historical group must comprise,—among other compulsory topics,—anthropology, geography (economic and historical), economic history, the study of international relations or foreign policies, psychology, logic, the growth of the human mind as reflected in the arts and sciences, history of philosophy, and a history of historical literature including archæological researches.

5. Experimental psychology must not constitute an independent study by itself at the M.A. stage. The history of the exact sciences should naturally belong to this group. Then all the varied branches of applied psychology, social, industrial (psychotechnique), pedagogic, business, medical and so forth will have to be accorded a place in the system. And courses in liberal culture would include logic, the psychology of art and artists, applied sociology, anthropology, and history of literature and literary criticism.

Naturally, the bounds of these “organic groups” or “minimum complexes” will vary from time to time according to circumstances,—almost in the same manner as the definition of the “key industries.”

X. General Remarks in regard to Economics.

1. Certain subjects indispensable to every student of social science must have a definite place in the scheme of studies in economics. These are (i) modern economic history and (ii) modern constitutional history.

2. Statistics cannot be treated as optional, while mathematical economics, if necessary, may.

3. In international law and sociology the historical treatment seems to have been ignored in the system obtaining at present at Calcutta.

4. The existing curriculum, it appears further, has no paper on principles of legislation. Equally unknown is private international law.

5. Labour problems and labour economics constitute some of the greatest formative agencies in contemporary social thought. But there is no well-defined place for these topics in the present syllabus.

6. Land-legislation should be regarded as an important independent item.

7. Studies in co-operation need also be specified.

XI. Suggestions re Teaching.

1. The following scheme of studies for M.A. in economics, politics and sociology is made up on the basis of ideas set forth in the above sections.

2. All the eight papers each with two halves are compulsory.

3. The number of lectures on each half is to be about 30 or 35. For each half the students will be expected to read at least 500-750 pages.

4. In the case of those half-papers in which India is to figure as one of the contributing items, Indian material should occupy about 25 per cent. of the lectures.

5. As a rule, one or two text-books are to constitute compulsory reading material in regard to each half. Chapters or sections in other books or journals may be recommended for reference purposes, but within reasonable limits. Examinations should be conducted on this basis, questions being fairly distributed over the books.

6. As the multiplicity of subjects forms the essential feature of these suggestions, it is necessary that the teachers make it a point to select the most important topics and reject the avoidable details. (Detailed, intensive work is for post-M.A., if that is ever to come.)

7. In the interest of co-ordination of studies the teaching staff should at least once a quarter organize academic conferences or social gatherings to which students need not be invited.

*XII. M.A.-Examination Papers in
Economics, Politics and Sociology.*

• First Paper.

Economic and Constitutional History of the Great Powers
(with special reference to the period since 1870).

First half: Economic Developments.

Second half: Constitutional Developments.

Second Paper.

Theories in Economic Science (Pure Economics), with
mathematical applications.

First half: Value and Distribution.

Second half: Money, Banking and International Trade.

Third Paper.

Categories and Contents of Contemporary and Modern
Political Thought (since 1870).

First half: Mazzini, Mill, Treitschke, Leroy-Beaulieu, Green,
Marx, Loria, etc.

Second half: Sidgwick, Gierke, Duguit, Woodrow Wilson,
Lenin, Joseph-Barthelemy, Spann, etc.

Fourth Paper.

The Political Institutions (constitutional law and
administrative law) of modern states including India.

First half: The Machinery of Central Government.

Second half: Municipal and Local Administration.

Fifth Paper.

First half : Public Finance as Science with illustrations from India as well as Europe, America and Japan.

Second half : Statistics.

Sixth Paper.

First half : French or German.

Second half : Essay.

GROUP A.—ECONOMICS

Seventh Paper.

First half : History of Economic Doctrines and Methods (including a survey of modern Indian economic thought).

Second half : Labour movements in Economic History and Theory.

Eighth Paper.

Applied Economics and Economic Legislation.

First half : Systems of (i) Tariff or (ii) Currency or (iii) Bank-Policy or (iv) Transportation (including Indian data in each instance). Only one to be taken.

Second half : (i) Land-Tenures or (ii) Business Organisation, or (iii) Co-operation or (iv) Insurance (including Indian data in each instance). Only one to be taken.

GROUP B.—POLITICS.

Seventh Paper.

History of Political Theories from the earliest times down to 1870 (in the background of political evolution).

First half : Western.

Second half : Indian.

Eighth Paper.

Principles of Legislation.

First half: Historical and Sociological Jurisprudence.*Second half*: Comparative Legislation: The Civil (marriage and property) Laws of Great Britain, France, Germany, U.S.A., and India.

GROUP C.—INTERNATIONAL LAW.

*Seventh Paper.**First half*: History of the Theory of International Law (in the background of the evolution of political thought).*Second half*: Modern Diplomacy and International Relations (since 1650) including Western intercourse with Asia and Africa.• *Eighth Paper.*

International Law.

First half: Public International Law.*Second half*: Private International Law.

GROUP D.—SOCIOLOGY.

*Seventh Paper.**First half*: History of Social Theories: Study of the Problems and Methods in Social Philosophy; From Plato and Kautilya down to Ward, Durkheim, Gumplowicz, Simmel, Hobhouse, etc.*Second half*: Social Institutions (Oriental and Occidental, ancient and modern, primitive and undeveloped): descriptive and historical treatment of family, property, state, myth and art.

Eighth Paper.

First half: Social Psychology (analysis of the *psyche* in its reactions to the group).

Second half: Applied Sociology (problems and methods in the re-making of man): eugenics, pedagogics, criminology, economic legislation, control of poverty, social assurance, birth control, welfare schemes, town-planning, rural reconstruction, internationalism, colonisation, etc.

XIII. General Remarks in regard to Commerce.

All the principles indicated in the previous discussion are taken to be valid in the scheme of commercial education. One or two special considerations may be pointed out:—

(i) The bias is to be more commercial than economic.

(ii) Commerce is not to be treated as identical with buying and selling, *e. g.*, the science of stores and foreign trade, but to be regarded as comprehensive enough to include insurance, transportation, and banking as independent items.

XIV. M. A. Papers in Commerce.

Eight papers, all compulsory. Each paper consisting of two halves, each half compulsory.

First Paper.

First half: Business organisation:

1. Forms of organisation.
2. Methods or machinery of business.

Second half: Economics of Commerce:

1. Descriptive-historical.
2. Theory of Value as applied to Insurance, Shipping and Railway rates, Share-Market, Banking Accounts, etc.

Second Paper.

First half: Inland and Foreign Trade.

Second half: Merchandise:—Raw produce from land, forests and mines. Machineries and chemicals.

Third Paper.

First half: Problems in bank management with special reference to the calculation of risk.

Second half: Stock Exchange and Money Market.

Fourth Paper.

First half: Elementary Insurance and actuarial work.

Second half: Transportation.

Fifth Paper.

First half: Commercial Law.

Second half: Legislation on Tariff, Currency and Taxation with special reference to Partnerships, Joint Stock Companies and Trusts. •

Sixth Paper.

First half: Commercial Geography.

Second half: History of Commerce in the background of the world's material and cultural evolution.

Seventh Paper.

First half: Accounting.

Second half: Auditing.

Eighth Paper.

First half: Statistical methods in Commerce and Commercial Arithmetic.

Second half: Foreign language:—one of French, German, and Japanese.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

TO THE SPIRIT OF SIMLA

Oh, Spirit of the ancient Simla Hills—
Why dost evade my eager, seeking eyes ?
Why hide from me the beauty of thy face,
And ever flee as Echo fled from Pan ?
Art held in durance vile like Seeta fair,
By some Ravena with his evil arts ?
Or, chained as Andromeda to the rocks,
And guarded by a threatening dragon dread ?
I've sought thee long, intrigued am I to find
Thy Spirit, and perchance, to love thee well ;
But now, I love thee not—I feel no thrill
When gazing on the crescent of thy Hills
That rise in rugged tiers up to the Blue,
Topped by the peaks of everlasting snow—
The barrier that shuts in far Tibet.
I gaze and gaze, with heart cold to their charms—
And no response I feel—no cosmic urge—
There is a lack of vital-force and joy,
Of Life, within thy worn and wrinkled Hills...
Or, is the lack in my own lonely heart ?
Hast fled official rules, and soldiers' tread,
And smell of powder on thy clean, pure air ?
Hast hidden in some cavern vast and deep ?
Dost thou creep forth at night and revels hold
With nymphs and fauns within thy fragrant vales ?
If so, I blame thee not ; fain would I flee

To Nature's haunts and seek her mysteries !
I love thy trees—the lofty deodars,
With graceful limbs that sway in every breeze,—
I love the pine trees, with their haunting breath,
And crooning songs that lull the birds to rest ;
The ilix-oaks, with silver, trembling leaves,—
The stately chestnuts, decked like knights of old,
Who climb the Hills, with white and crested plumes—
The locust and the fir-trees dark between.
In March the rhododendron's crimson bells
Glow through the forest, and against the snow
As vivid as the lips of houris fair,
Who sport amid the bowers of Paradise !—
They pass—then comes the clustering wild rose,
All white and gold, with breath of tender Spring
They twine their garlands over all the trees,
And haunt one with sweet memories of yore.
And now, like silver stars amid the green,
The dog-wood blossoms, and the golden broom
Pours out a subtle incense on the air.
Ah, many feet have trod thy dusty ways !—
The feet of pilgrims climbing to their shrines,
With gift of flowers, and throb of flute and drum—
The feet of Hanuman's wee followers,
Those gnome-like creatures with evolving souls—
The feet of some, whose names are writ in gold,
Within the halls of history and fame—
The feet of noble men, whose sleeping dust
Now mingles with thine own, whose Spirits free

Have flown to higher worlds to carry on !
The feet of women, who have burdens borne
Along thy highways, through thy rugged Hills—
I hear the rhythm on the vibrant air
♦ Whene'er it blows through swaying deodars.
Oh, Spirit of the ancient Simla Hills,—
Illusive Spirit, wilt thou not reveal
Thy presence to my eager, seeking eyes ?
Perchance I'd greet thee as an old, old friend—
Perchance I'd love thee,—*as I do not now !*

TERESA STRICKLAND

THE FATHER OF INDIAN JOURNALISM—III

ROBERT KNIGHT—HIS LIFE-WORK.

Towards the end of September, 1864, Knight arrived in England on leave and was busy in making a home for his children, wife, mother and sisters. He took rest for over six months and made arrangement for the education of his sons and daughters. After settling his domestic affairs, he began to make preparations for establishing a journal in London and took steps to stir up an agitation against the Permanent Settlement of land revenue in the several provinces of India. He writes in his memoir :—

It was a very old conviction of mine that the Permanent Settlement was a fatal economic mistake, but my great battle in opposing its introduction in the other provinces of India was fought from 1859 to 1863. Sir Charles Wood's famous despatch sanctioning a permanent settlement for all India was dated, I think, July 1861 or July 1862. It was to get this despatch cancelled that I strove earnestly in England; and in 1866 I had the satisfaction of seeing it given up.

In 1865 the American Civil War came to an end with the capture of Richmond by the Northern States. With the restoration of peace in America the bull market of Bombay was swept away. Huge quantities of American cotton was thrown on the English market, and the fall in prices in Bombay was unprecedented. Wagering contracts had to be fulfilled, but such was the insolvent condition of Bombay traders and merchants that there was no hope of a revival till there was a general liquidation. Indeed, the heavy bankruptcies which ensued so alarmed the Bombay Government that a special Act (28 of 1865) had to be passed to allow the bankrupt estates to be wound up by the trustees, but under the inspection of the Bombay High Court, it being deemed impossible that that tribunal could at all cope, in its ordinary

insolvency branch, with the numberless estates thrown into insolvency.

Thus the short-lived extraordinary prosperity of 1861-1864 proved a delusion and a snare and betrayed Bombay Presidency into one of the most disastrous monetary crises that have overtaken any country and people. Merchants, banks and financial companies toppled over in a mass of hopeless wreckage. The share-mania of 1864-65 and the terrible crash that followed it, shook the commercial prosperity of the Bombay Presidency to its foundations and retarded its progress for years. To the undue elation caused by the two short years of prosperity succeeded more than undue gloom and despair. Knight was in England when this crash came, and shared neither of these extreme feelings. He gave distinct warnings against the Bombay commercial bubbles, and when deputing William Martin Wood from Home to act as his understudy in Bombay as acting editor of the *Times of India*, he instructed him to pursue this policy with great vigour. Hence when the crash came, and people were given up to despair, he did not try to deepen the depression, but pointed out various considerations which would have a tonic effect on the will of the commercial Bombay. On the memorable 1st of July, 1865—the day for the settlement of time-bargains which is still bitterly remembered in Bombay—the *Times of India* under the inspiration of Knight wrote as follows :—

It is easy to-day to see that we have gone sadly wrong in having chosen the path of speculation rather than that of production ; though it is not quite so clear where it was that the two paths divided, or what it was that pushed Bombay from the true path of steady material development. Perhaps, the traditional aversion of the *Sircar* and the other part of the Service to developers and Western industry might have a deterring effect, in the first instance ; then, when certain local circumstances set the fashion of a sort of congested instrument within the island itself, the heedless crowd followed. Still we do not see that strangers of the West have any right to lecture us hereon. Yet on this day when Bombay does penance for the errors committed it is a fitting time to acknowledge our

mistakes, and so to take the first step in the path of repentance. Though the *Overland Mail* is quite wrong in speaking as if there could be any general 'over production' of useful commodities, we must ruefully admit that there has been a decided overproduction under the head of 'financials,' and in all the machinery that is merely intermediate in the work of international commerce. How this has come to pass is a question which may stand over for answer at another opportunity; but from this day should date some better-devised and more comprehensive efforts on the part of our leading capitalists towards developing the inexhaustible resources of Western India. It is true that a desire for a high rate of profit must be laid aside, and Eastern notions of rapid gain will have to be replaced with the Western maxim of 'slow but sure.' No time, however, could be so opportune for the growth of sober views on commercial progress as will be this gloomy month of July in the monsoon of 1865. When this first of July is passed we shall breathe freely once more; but let Bombay never forget the lessons which the results of this day should teach.

Knight thus wrote in his memoir on the Time Bargain Bill as referred to above :—

There are some still in Bombay who remember very well the effort of the Judges of the Bombay High Court to put time-bargaining in produce as well as shares inside the pale of law and the fierce controversy that broke out on the subject in 1862 and 1863. But as no one remembers, I dare say, the infinite pains I took in the *Times of India* to discredit the gambling that was going on in the trade of the island and that finally wrecked the whole community. I did all in my power to get the Act passed through the Council in 1863 that became law only in July 1865 the very day—as by a cruel wrong—of confused general bankruptcy. All that it was in the power of a journalist to do I did to destroy the time-bargaining that finally destroyed the community, while other publicists in the island were doing their utmost to persuade the people that there was no difference whatever between the practice and legitimate trade.

In the financial crash of Bombay of 1865 Knight suffered heavy financial loss like several others. The heir of the famous Parsee¹ baronet, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the Rothschild of

¹ Samuel Smith, M. P. in *My Life-Work* (1902) thus writes :—While in Bombay in 1862-63 I made the acquaintance of several of the great Parsee Merchants, who were famed for public spirit and liberality. They profited greatly by the huge rise in the price

Bombay, failed for half a million of money. The hardly less famous Hindu millionaire, Prem Chand Roy Chand, failed for over two millions, and the Tata firms were also involved in the fatal whirlpool. And unfortunately, the Bank of Bombay, which might have done much to check the mischief, and which had, among its Directors, nominees of the Bombay Government, did its best, in spite of earnest and reiterated warnings from Calcutta, by reckless gambling to foster and to spread it. And then throughout India and England, disaster followed upon disaster. The failures of the Commercial Bank of Bombay and worse of all perhaps for India, of the Agra Bank—the bank in which the little-all of so many widows and orphans were deposited—followed one another in melancholy and startling succession. But the worst offender of all, the Bombay Bank, still held its own though with a loss of half its capital—still plunging itself and others, in spite of all that remonstrances from the Governor-General Sir John Lawrence, and urgent requests both by telegram and letter for information could do, more deeply into the mire; till at last it fell deep alike in ruin and in guilt, the full dimensions of which were only to be revealed by the Commission of Inquiry which an outraged people demanded and, at length, succeeded in obtaining. Knight lost about Rs. 50,000 which remained as deposit with the Bombay Bank. Besides, he lost a big sum in England also. Misfortune followed him in his home. The closing years of the American Civil War were times of violent fluctuations in the cotton market of

of cotton, and by the great speculation that was started in Bombay in financial and industrial companies. Several of them were then millionaires, and it was a wonderful sight to witness the stream of rich equipages that poured into the old Fort (as Bombay then was) from Malabar Hill. For an hour at a time they did not stop; it reminded one of Hyde Park during the season. This wonderful prosperity continued for two years longer. It led to a wild outbreak of speculation unparalleled in India. The shares of the famous "Back Bay Company" went up to 1000 premium. The trading community became intoxicated with sudden fortunes. And then the bubble burst! The American War came to an end; a terrific decline in prices occurred; and merchants, bankers and financial companies toppled over in a mass of hopeless wreckage.

England. As it became clearer that North would succeed, sudden panics occurred; and business was difficult and dangerous. A very worst panic occurred when the war came to an end in 1865. The expectations then prevailed that a flood of cotton would be released from the South when the ports were opened, but this expectation was not fulfilled, and another great rise and large speculation took place in 1866. Then came the severe commercial crisis in which a large number of banks failed, and the greatest of them identified with the failure of Overend, Gurney & Co., the great bill brokers and bankers of London, with liabilities of £18,727, 917, which closed its doors on the morning of what is known in the history of banking in England as the Black Friday. Many failures took place; credit was greatly shaken; and a severe panic occurred in the market. The year 1867 was without exception the most trying year. Knight's project of founding a journal in London was not only abandoned, but he was obliged to seek protection under the insolvency law. The British panic of 1866-67 unfortunately synchronised with the Bombay collapse; credit was withdrawn on all sides, and for years there was little else but enforced liquidation. Few fortunes survived this crisis, and many millionaires had to commence life again, sadder and wiser men.

Abandoning his journalistic venture in London owing to his pecuniary loss, Knight while in England made several influential friends. At John Bright's introduction he made the acquaintances of Gladstone, Fawcett, Louis Mallet, Salisbury, Hartington, Mayo and others. He had prolonged interviews with Henry Fawcett, and many a midnight did he pass in discoursing with him on the burning financial questions of India. He succeeded in impressing certain convictions upon this English Economist who became popularly known as the "Member for India" and especially imbued him with a fierce hatred of the way in which Indian revenues were misapplied for the benefit of England. Fawcett's first public

utterance against the disgraceful misuse of Indian revenue for Imperial purpose was made in the House of Commons in July, 1867, when Knight was in England. It had been decided to give a ball at the India Office to the Sultan of Turkey on July 16. Knight heard that the expenses of this ball were to be charged to India. He asked Fawcett to open the campaign in the House of Commons, and Fawcett on questioning Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India, got an answer in the affirmative. Fawcett was not satisfied with the explanation in justification of the misuse of Indian revenue that the ball was a return for assistance given by the Sultan towards telegraphic communication with India, as England as well as India was interested in this telegraphic communication. On July 19 on a motion for a list of invitation to the ball, Fawcett rose and said, how could the Secretary for India reconcile it to himself to tax the people of India for an entertainment to the Sultan and Viceroy? It might be proper for the officials themselves to give the entertainment, but why should the toiling peasant of India pay for it, and why should a part of the Indian revenues be voted without the least compunction for an entertainment which would amuse good society and the people of London? This was Fawcett's first protest under the inspiration of Knight, and it occasioned a great deal of sarcasms in the London Press. From this time forward Fawcett devoted the greatest part of his times and energy to Indian questions in the House of Commons and elsewhere.

At the second ordinary meeting of the Royal Statistical Society held on Tuesday, the 19th December, 1865, he was elected a fellow of the Society, Colonel W. H. Sykes, M. P., Vice-President of the Society being in the chair. This honour Knight greatly esteemed in his life. In January 1866 the well-known East India Association was founded in London through the exertions of Dadabhai Nowroji, Major Evans Bell and others. Knight at once became one of its prominent

members and delivered at one of its earliest sittings a highly interesting lecture on Indian Affairs which attracted much attention at the time. In August, 1865, the temporary Indian Income Tax ceased to be operative owing to the statutory provision made at the time of its impost. In considering the Budget for 1865-66 Sir John Lawrence, the Governor-General and his Council, owing to heavy financial commitments, had come round reluctantly to the conclusion that the income tax must be retained for another year, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, the finance member, who had, as has been told already, sacrificed all his prospects in India as Governor of Madras, to the objections of that impost, seemed to be of the same opinion. But on the day before the promulgation of the Budget, it was found at a meeting of the Governor-General's Council that he had returned to his old hate, and that all the members of the Council present except the Governor-General, Sir John Lawrence himself, had harked back with him.

Each in other's countenance read his own dismay.

Knowing that Sir Charles Trevelyan would be tempted to look back upon his whole Indian financial administration as a failure if he did not have, as he expressed it, at least the grim satisfaction of "laying the income tax upon the shelf, a potent but imperfect fiscal machine complete in all its gear, ready to be imposed in any new emergency." Sir John Lawrence accepted Trevelyan's alternative proposal of an increase in the export duties, as the Indian land-tax was incapable of yielding a progressive revenue.

The news of Sir Charles Trevelyan's device of export duties to meet the deficit shewn by the budget estimates of 1865-66, reached Knight when in London. Parliament was sitting at the time. The *Times* refused to publish a letter which Knight sent it upon the subject, the policy of that journal in those days being to support Lord Palmerston and his nominees. In despair, therefore, of awakening public attention in this way

to the question of the Indian Revenue, Knight determined to address himself to the "Manchester Party" in the hope that it might be induced to look carefully and comprehensively into the question. Upon John Bright's introduction, he saw Mr. Bazley in London and other members of the House of Commons, with Henry Ashworth, the respected leader of the Manchester Chamber. It was not difficult, in private conversation, to show these gentlemen the vastness of the revolution which the despatch of 1862 portended; and the result of the interview was that Manchester determined to call a great conference upon the subject. The Conference was held in January, 1866 and was attended by many members of the Commons and a great body of merchants. This conference was the turning point of the controversy. Knight assisted by Walter Richard Cassels,¹ fortunately succeeded in convincing it that the Permanent Settlement of the Indian Land Tax was an error as fatal as they declared it to be. But the conviction did not stop at the Conference: it spread at once to the India Office. The proceedings of the Conference were published, and the statements made by Knight took hold for the first time upon the minds of public men in England. Sir Charles Wood had left India Office, but upon being consulted by his successors, Earl de Grey and James Stansfeld,² frankly avowed that he was not sure that an error had not been made. At this juncture the Liberal Ministry went out, and Lord Cranborne became the head of the India Office. Two or three months afterwards Lord Cranborne told Knight personally that he had come to the same conviction as his immediate predecessors that the despatch of 1862 was an error. He frankly added that the Government could not, for reputation's sake, withdraw a despatch that professed to be, and was, the result of half a

¹ Well-known partner of Messrs. Peel Cassels & Co., of Bombay: See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

² Under-Secretary of State for India: See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

century's enquiries and deliberations, but what they could do was to interpret it. And this accordingly was done by Sir Stafford Northcote very shortly afterwards in the despatch of 23rd March, 1867, the ninth para. of which runs as follows:—

9. I have therefore to desire that the following rules may be observed before estates in the North West Provinces or elsewhere, are admitted to permanent settlement, *viz* :

First.—No estate should be permanently settled in which the detail cultivation amounts to less than 80 per cent. of the cultivable or malgoozaree area.

Second.—No permanent settlement shall be concluded for any estate to which canal irrigation is, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, likely to be extended within the next 20 years, and the existing assets of which would thereby be increased in the proportion of 20 per cent.

By these restrictions the Despatch of 1862 has since been interpreted, and the final abandonment of the Permanent Settlement policy for the rest of India was entirely owing to the exertions made by Knight at home during 1866-67. It should be mentioned here also that the admirable paper on the Land Revenue Settlement recorded by Sir George Wingate was written by him in 1862 and sent by him to the India Office to arrest, if possible, the folly about to be perpetrated by a permanent settlement. The India Office burked the paper; at all events, they did not publish it. Sir George Wingate made Knight, then in England, a present of it in 1865, and as it very clearly and forcibly expressed his own convictions, he threw it into the form of a series of leading articles and sent them out for publication in his *Times of India*. Years afterwards the paper was published with Sir George Wingate's¹ name attached thereto.

Knight in his reminiscences wrote thus:—

The Permanent Settlement; End of the Controversy: The discussions of seventy years upon this vexed and important subject

¹ Knight writes in a note thus:—It was the late Sir George Wingate who first directed our own mind to Indian financial system, and we could wish that the statesmen and

are drawing to a close, and it would seem to have been reserved for Sir William Muir's Government to furnish the reflections with which this chapter of our administrative history will wind up. The *Consensus* of opinion that existed in the North-West Provinces ten years ago in favour of a permanent settlement, has to-day given place to a frank admission that no more disastrous mistake could have been made, nor one more fatal to the future administration of the country. It is unnecessary to recall the history of the subject, but it is important to observe that in the official note before us, it is admitted, that the demand for a "permanent settlement" never emanated from the people themselves. Strange as it may seem in the eyes of some of our readers, there is a positive agreement among the officers of the Settlement Department in the North-West, that so far from the people demanding a permanent settlement, they *dread* the idea of it, all their interest being concentrated upon obtaining as low an assessment as possible for the present and the immediate future. This is simply what we have been affirming for the last 12 years. Over and over again in the controversy of 1860-63 did we point out that the demand, instead of coming from the people, was a planter's cry from beginning to end, kept in countenance by the benevolent but mistaken views of men like the late Colonel Baird Smith, who could not be made to understand the disastrous economic revolution that such a settlement of the revenue would involve.

So little had this great controversy been studied at home up to the period when the famous dispatches of 1862 were issued from the India Office, that when we were striving in 1865 and 1866 to make the real nature of the revolution that was impending, understood in England, we found the impression was entertained that the settlement would, as a matter of course, be made "in corn." Even Mr. John Dickenson¹ himself, a leader of the agitation, could not believe that a decree had gone forth to settle the land revenue of the country in perpetuity *in money*. He had all along taken for granted that the settlement was to be "in corn." And no fact perhaps could shew more strikingly the guilt of attempting a revolution so portentous, so irremediable, with a public opinion so loosely informed upon the subject. It was at Manchester, in January 1866, that Mr. John Dickenson first learned from ourselves what the real nature of

publicists of England would read for themselves his exposure of the injustice that has marked all our financial relations with the people of India which we call "the brightest jewel in the British Crown".

¹ Well-known Chairman of the Indian Reform Society founded by John Bright. See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

the settlement was that Sir Charles Wood had directed to be made. The improvidence of the step was understood by the Manchester Chamber at once when we had laid it fully bare, and the India Office itself was not slow to admit the error that had been made. The passion for "permanent" arrangements has been the chief besetment of our rule in India. Impatient of purely tentative administration, and a painstaking gathering of exact knowledge and experience, we have ever been rushing into permanent, cast-iron rules of Regulation Law, and Legislative Acts, that have hardly been published than they have been found to have proceeded on faulty information. The secret of our failures may be told almost in a word:—we have been a Legislating Government where we should have been a purely Executive one, retaining in our hands full power to correct our mistakes as we went along, gathering experience of the facts and conditions amongst which our course lay. Look at the frightful error made in Bengal in abandoning the Executive administration of the land, and handing it over, under cast-iron, irrevocable legislation, to the joint disposal of Anarchy and the Civil Courts. The result *there* has been eighty years of legalized injustice, club law, mad dacoitee revenge, and an amount of moral and material suffering among fifty millions of people so horrible, that we are glad not to contemplate it. Wherever a corner of the veil is lifted, the same frightful picture of triumphant wrong and the negation of all right is disclosed. And all this—because we were mad enough to do what once done could not be undone. We have more than once expressed our conviction, and do so here again, that the man who has the temerity to rise in any one of the Councils of India, with a proposal in his hand to do what being once done admits of no recall, should be regarded as a public enemy, and refused hearing. The enquiries circulated throughout the North-West two years ago, inviting the opinion of the Settlement Officers and Collectors, as to the wisdom of our fulfilling "the pledges" which it has been constantly affirmed we are under to make a "permanent settlement" with the people—have elicited a series of answers shewing that there is a *consensus* of opinion amongst these gentlemen against such a step. These official communications have now been published *in extenso*: and we have to thank Sir William Muir's Government for a most able resume and review of them, from the pen of Mr. Auckland Colvin, Secretary to the Board of Revenue. The questions raised in these papers, and of which they finally dispose, may be summarized as follows:—

1. The pledges which it has constantly been affirmed, we are under to give the people a permanent settlement.

2. The temper of the people themselves upon the subject.
3. The fiscal wisdom of such a settlement in *money*.
4. The practicability and wisdom of such a settlement in *corn*.

The answer in brief to these questions severally is—(1) that no such “pledges”—as the *Friend of India* and *Bombay Gazette* have been harping upon for years—were ever given; (2) that instead of demanding such a settlement, the people themselves positively *dread* it; (3) that a permanent settlement in *money*, would be an act of fatal unwisdom; and (4) that a permanent settlement “in corn” is impracticable, and would be improvident were it otherwise. These are the *final* conclusions be it remembered of gentlemen who in almost every instance were disciples of the late Colonel Baird Smith’s school. Ten years ago, they were persuaded almost to a man that our only true policy towards the land was to *divorce* ourselves from it throughout the country, as we had done in Bengal, handing it over under a system of permanent, irreversible rules, and a permanent assessment, to the administration of the Civil Courts of the country. This was the all but universal conviction under which the Government of the North-West Provinces entered upon the settlement of the land, ten or twelve years ago. The 30 years’ leases then expiring had done their work, and the time was now come to make a settlement in *perpetuity*. The people had grown wealthy even under the temporary lease system:—What might they not fairly be expected to become under a perpetual lease! Such was the glaring, the truly monstrous, fallacy of the moment. That it was not the *duration* but the *weight* of the assessment, upon which everything hinged; not the *long* 30 years’ lease, but the *light* 30 years’ assessment that had enriched the people, no man could see. The work of resettlement was fortunately hindered and made tedious, by the vast economic changes that were resulting from the passing of the Railway through the Provinces, and the completion of the great irrigation works in progress therein: and it became impossible as the work went on, for either the settlement officers of the Government itself to shut its eyes to the facts. The assessments imposed in 1860 and 1861 and that were still, owing to the controversies of the time, waiting sanction—were found by 1868 to be fast sinking to a mere quit rent; when the full significance of our remonstrances as to the folly of settling the *revenue* in *perpetuity*, while the *expenditure* of the State was being indefinitely increased by its outlay on public works, began to dawn upon men’s minds. Twelve years ago, we wrote—“We are shut up to the land revenue, or a giant income-tax in its room. Superficial statesmen

and self-seeking agitators have between them brought the future finances of the country, into circumstances of the deepest peril. The growing necessities of the Government will have to be provided for, and the land-revenue being fixed in perpetuity, they must be provided for by taxes on realised capital and income. In attempting to make good the loss in this way, the Empire will be torn to pieces by excitement; industry will be paralyzed; and capital driven to happier shores. It is almost incredible, but true, that the people of India are profoundly indifferent to this Permanent Settlement gift.

We owe it entirely to the *doctrinaire* counsels of men without insight into our real condition. In London and Manchester, in 1865 and 1866, we never ceased warning English statesmen of what was in progress. We said :—

“You are carrying through in India at this moment, a fiscal revolution of fatal import to the country, upon the strength of a vague general impression that you are doing a wise thing; an impression so erroneous that the *least* exact enquiry is sufficient to dissipate it. A Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue throughout the whole of the North-West Provinces of India, has been decided upon, while the Government of the country does not possess as much exact information, as to the pressure of the impost upon those Provinces, as would justify it in settling the bazar duties of a village. The news of this revolution has been received almost without comment in this country. I do not hesitate to say, that peaceful rule of India in the future will be impossible, if Parliament do not lay its arrest upon the monstrous folly of which that settlement is the expression.”

At the Manchester Conference (1866) we said :—

“The Perpetual Settlement of the Land Tax means the perpetual settlement of our whole revenue. It means that with a rapidly increasing expenditure, we are to divest ourselves of the only revenue we have, that can reasonably be relied upon to expand. Sir Charles Wood and his Council are endorsing the popular impression that the thirty years’ leases of Bombay and the North-West Provinces—although all improvements under them, made by the cultivator, are secured to him—are not a sufficiently liberal tenure to induce him to sink capital in his fields; and that upon the whole, the land-tax of India is an impolitic tax, and presses heavily upon the industry of the country. That there is not a particle of foundation for these impressions, but that under these leases, the ryot is everywhere rapidly accumulating wealth; that capital is being as largely sunk in the soil, as the hoarding traditions of the country yet render possible; that the

impost is a tax upon no man's produce, and upon no man's labour; that to settle it permanently will produce no real advantages, but will plunge us into certain embarrassment, and be a fraud on the whole urban population of the country; that the pressure of the impost, instead of being what it is popularly supposed to be, is so light that it is doubtful if it absorb (upon the average) even a twentieth of the produce; that the objection against the thirty years' leases—*viz.*, that in their last years the tenant would fear to improve his holding—is an objection held to be of no weight in any other part of the world, and might moreover be entirely obviated by renewing them three, four, or five years before they fell in; and lastly, that under the heavy and continuous rise in prices that is taking place, we ought at once to increase the pay of the establishments if we would not see them demoralised, and have no means of doing so but from the land—all these considerations are given to the winds. It is with indignation that I have seen the Home Government dragged at the heels of this folly. The Council, which should have stood between the selfish agitators of Calcutta whose clamour initiated the movement, and the Government, have lent themselves to it; and they who have approved this change, have done so to a man upon merely general impressions, as the published minutes upon the subject show. That Mr. Samuel Laing and Lord Canning should have been carried away by the (Planters') outcry, was deplorable enough; but that a majority of the Home Council should have possessed, so little insight into the conditions of our finance, as to sanction this fatal resolution, is amazing. Sir, that Settlement of the North-West Provinces should be instantly subverted at any cost, and the course upon which the Government has entered arrested by Parliament. For let this movement progress, and within twenty years you will see the Empire torn to pieces, in the effort to resume in the way of direct taxes, what is now being cast to the winds in the mere passion for change."

As to the pledges under which it is commonly affirmed the Government is bound to confer a Permanent Settlement on the North-West Provinces, Mr. Auckland Colvin, summarizing and reviewing the answers he has received, says:—

To conclude: it seems to me that the promise given to the agricultural proprietors of these Provinces has been so guarded, that even if they claimed its fulfilment, they would be unable to show that the limitation qualifying the promise has been fulfilled. As a matter of fact, I believe that no claim is made; and the conclusion I draw is, that it would be quixotic and most impolitic to concede what is not asked for unless the

necessary conditions were fulfilled, or on the eve of fulfilment, and unless a permanent settlement could be granted with fair consideration to the public whom the Government represents, and equitably to the mass of the proprietors themselves.

Mr. Auckland Colvin gives us, *in extenso*, the text of these supposed "pledges," and it is difficult after reading them, to understand how they could ever have been represented to be "pledges" at all. Moreover, were the "pledges" absolute, where yet in the world was it ever held, that the gratuitous promise of a Government to do, or grant, something in the supposed interests of the people, was binding upon it, when discovery was made that the fulfilment of the promise, instead of benefitting, would injure them? Nothing is gained by saying that the promise was made to a part of the people only. The promise, if made at all, was made in the belief that its fulfilment would benefit one class without injuring others. The moment it is shewn that the fulfilment of the pledge, or promise, would injure other classes, its redemption is forbidden by the *suprema lex*. Were the State under a distinct and absolute pledge to make the present assessments of the North-West permanent, and were the people themselves, instead of being completely indifferent thereto, urgently demanding its fulfilment, we should be under no moral obligation whatever to redeem the promise, unless it were shewn that the people, in reliance thereon, had committed themselves to engagements by which they would suffer in case of default. In no country of the world, we believe, has so much nonsense been written on the subject of Governmental pledges generally, as in India. Thus the Zemindars of Bengal a few years ago, held that the State had pledged itself by the Permanent Settlement to exempt their body from the general Income Tax, and there were not wanting English statesmen to uphold the insane contention. To grapple with the delusion at its foundations, it is simply necessary to point out that such a pledge or promise been expressly given, instead of *implicitly* as was contended, it was *ultra vires* and such as no enlightened Government could respect. The Government is but another expression for "the people," and a man may as well hold himself morally bound to get drunk, because he has promised himself that treat, as the State hold itself bound to do an unwise and injurious act, on the ground that it once promised to do so, under the belief that it was a wise and wholesome act. As a matter of fact, no "pledges" were given the North-West of a permanent settlement; and if there were, the State would be bound to withdraw them, unless it were shewn that the agricultural classes would suffer more direct injury from the withdrawal, than

other classes from their fulfilment. Gratuitous pledges, or promises, become morally binding only when inconvenience, or injury, of some kind will result from their fulfilment, to the parties to whom they are made.

As to the practicability and wisdom of a perpetual settlement *in corn*, an impression we observe seems to prevail on the other side of India, that the proposal of a settlement of this nature is a novelty, for which we are indebted to the late Sir Donald Macleod, or to Mr. Wynne, formerly Assistant Settlement Officer of Saharanpur, who is believed to have been the author of an article on the subject in No. CI of the *Calcutta Review* in 1870. As we have already said, the belief was everywhere entertained at home, that Sir Charles Wood's despatches of 1862 contemplated a settlement of this nature; the notion that it was to be a settlement [in money entering no one's mind. Sir Donald Macleod's minute upon the subject was published in this journal¹ upon the occasion of his leaving India, and we believe it is the fact that the Government of Earl Mayo was at one time strongly inclined to recommend such a settlement. The circular enquiries which have now been addressed to the Settlement Officers of the North-West, concerning the practicability and wisdom of such a settlement, shew that a consensus of opinion exists amongst them against the proposal in any form whatever. The objections taken to the scheme, says Mr. Auckland Colvin, may be summarised into three:—

1st.—It is *inequitable*, because what it provides for the readjustment of the Government revenue, it does not provide for readjustment of rents.

2nd.—It is *impracticable*, because no one staple could be adopted; because prices oscillate so extremely that no certain basis can be established for a given period, or inductions taken from that which preceded it; because high prices are by no means necessarily co-existent with agricultural prosperity, and consequently with the power of paying more revenue, or more rent; and because inequality of original assessments would be perpetuated.

3rd.—It would be *misunderstood* by the people; and in so far as its purpose was misapprehended by them, a permanent settlement so fixed would fail to convey the sense of security and consequent stimulus to industry which is the main argument for concession of a permanent settlement.

¹ *The Indian Economist.*

There are probably not half a dozen of men in India who are aware of the fact that an attempt was made to introduce such a settlement into the Bombay Presidency early in the present century. The very principle advocated by Mr. Wynne of periodical readjustment of the rental by the price of corn, was fully believed in at one time in the Western Presidency, where it long since gave place to wiser counsels. It is by a happy accident only, that the land-revenue was not so settled in Western India seventy years ago. Our territory was fortunately very narrow at the time, as the dominions of the Peshwa did not come under our rule until many years afterwards, while the indifference of the people to the proposal—we should rather perhaps say their distrust of it—made the Settlement miscarry in the districts in which it was attempted. As the matter is of considerable practical interest to us, while it has long passed away from official remembrance, we may, we believe, recall its history with advantage. It is the fact then, that the Supreme Government of India would seem very early to have become aware of the mistake made in the Lower Provinces in effecting the Cornwallis Settlement in money. We do not know that this fact has ever been noticed before. We gather it incidentally from the following facts. In August 1796, the Government of Bombay, under the orders of the Court of Directors, submitted to the Supreme Government of India a proposal for settling the land revenue of Salsette—at that time a very considerable part of the Company's possessions in Western India—in perpetuity. The Cornwallis Settlement, it will be remembered, was at that date not yet five years old. The proposal of the Bombay Government was to make a general and "fixed settlement with the coorumbees or ryots, considering such as the permanent possessor or proprietor of the land he cultivates, fixing the jumabundy at two-thirds of the moiety of the Portuguese *takah* assessment upon the grounds in cultivation:" in other words, as we learn from the margin, at one-third of the estimated produce of the lands in cultivation. The reader will observe that the only difference between this settlement and that of Lord Cornwallis' was as to the parties with whom it was to be made. Here the settlement—after the immemorial custom of the country was to be with the coorumbee or ryot, while in Bengal the fatal mistake was committed of making it with the Zemindar or middleman. We learn also the important fact that the settlement contemplated a permanent assessment of one-third of the produce, in accordance once more with immemorial belief, that such an assessment was a moderate assertion of the State's share therein. Now comes the important fact

on which we would fasten attention. We do not know precisely when the suspicion first found its way into the Calcutta Council Room that the Cornwallis' Settlement ought to have been made *in corn* and not in money, but we do know that the Supreme Government, in sanctioning this proposal of the Government of Bombay to introduce such a settlement into this presidency, directed it "to rate the fixed *dempjara* part of the rental in grain instead of in money, for the purpose of *guarding against the gradual diminution in value of the precious metals.*" We are indebted for this most interesting fact to an old Regulation of the Bombay Presidency (I of 1808) that has long become obsolete, but which for the valuable information which it contains might well be republished. It is thus clear, that within five years of the proclamation of the Cornwallis Settlement, its improvidence was beginning to dawn upon the Government, for when a settlement of the same order was proposed for Bombay, the Supreme Government directed that it should be made *in corn*. Four years seem to have been consumed in making the final enquiries deemed necessary before the Proclamation of such a settlement: when at length, on the 10th August 1801, the following Proclamation was disseminated in English, Portuguese, and Mahratta throughout the island of Salsette and its dependencies, for the general information of the inhabitants.

Proclamation.—*First.* The Governor in Council is pleased to make known, for the particular information of the inhabitants of Salsette, that in pursuance of his determination, communicated to them on the 12th of June last, to ameliorate their situation, by rendering them perpetual proprietors of the soil they now occupy, under a very moderate and fixed rent payable to the Government, formal grants of the property in question will be issued through the Collector, under the seal of the Company and signature of the Secretary to Government, to such present occupants of the soil in Salsette as may be desirous, and shall, in consequence, make application to the Collector on the spot, or the Government at Bombay, to obtain them.

Second.—The deeds of property above alluded to will, for the greater convenience and better understanding of the inhabitants to whom they may be issued, be printed in separate columns of English, Portuguese, and Marhatta, or Guzerratti.

Third.—Each deed will contain the following stipulations, *viz.*—1st. A fixed and permanent proprietary right in the soil, with liberty of selling, mortgaging, and bequeathing to the full extent of former

notifications, and subject only to a fixed revenue payable to Government.

2ndly.—The revenue payable to the Government will be fixed agreeably to the late demp settlement, and the amount will be specified in each deed. The grain assessment (constituting the criterion of the amount of revenue derivable to Government from each land-holder) to be paid either in money or kind, and in such proportions of either as may best suit the convenience of the inhabitants. If any part or the whole be paid in money it will, from margser (October) to the end of the next ten years, be received at the following rates—

For white batty, at the rate of twenty rupees per marah.

For black batty, at the rate of sixteen rupees per marah.

3rdly.—The amount of grain assessment specified in each deed of property will be considered invariable to the present possessors and their posterity, and is never to be changed or enhanced, whatever may be the quantity, description, or value of the produce of the soil, the increase or augmentation of the value of which will therefore be the unincumbered reward of the industry and good management of each proprietor.

4thly.—The Governor in Council trusts that terms so well calculated to promote the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of Salsette will be received with satisfaction by all those who are the objects of the benefits they are intended to produce, and that the good effects of these salutary regulations will soon be manifest, in a progressive addition to the wealth and prosperity of that island, which has long been and must ever continue an object of his especial care and attention.

By order of the Honourable, the Governor-in-Council,

(Signed) ROBERT RICKARDS,

Secretary to Government.

As we have already said, the island of Salsette at this early period formed a large part of the Company's territories in Western India, and it is by an accident only that the land of this Presidency as well as that of the Lower Provinces, was not permanently settled. Under no circumstances, however, would the resulting evil have been so great here as there; since the settlement would have been made (1) with the actual cultivators; and (2) would have been made in corn. We cannot but feel the keenest regret that the Cornwallis' Settlement was so hastily concluded, as it seems

probable that a delay of 5 years only might have deprived it of one of its worst features. On the occasion of making this Proclamation, the Bombay Government expressed its hope to the collector that the knowledge which would be thereby disseminated of the benefits intended to be conferred on the inhabitants would excite in them a greater desire than they had hitherto shewn to avail themselves of the advantage thus to be conveyed, by transferring to them a permanent provision for themselves and their posterity, without being longer subject to annual ascertainment of the value of the soil they cultivated. It would now rest with themselves to render their fields more productive. The Directors having been advised of the Proclamation, were pleased to signify under date of 28th of August, 1804, their confirmation thereof, as being in conformity to the principles they had sanctioned for the administration of the revenues of Bengal.

Now comes the notable fact of all, that how favourable soever these deeds of property were at first thought to be, as to have occasioned an immediate application for sixty-nine of them, only four were actually taken up by the people. The fee of five rupees which was being imposed on the issue of each lease, was enough to deter them from applying for them, and they preferred to continue simply in possession of all the advantages derivable from them, without actually accepting them. They hoped, moreover, we are told, to obtain a modification of them, by rendering the money valuation permanent as in the case of Bengal. Some moreover of the Roman Catholic proprietors in the district were desirous of introducing into their deeds a clause fixing the succession to their estates in the male line, without allowing full legal participation to their daughters, unless where there were no sons to inherit; while "not a few of the Coorumbes remained *attached to the ancient practice* of their forefathers, and were apprehensive of binding themselves to a specific revenue by positive engagements, where from circumstances of season joined to their own limited means, they might prove unable to withstand such casual disadvantages."

We are glad to preserve this most instructive episode in the history of our administration of the land. The proposal to make a permanent settlement *in corn*—instead therefore of being a novelty, was elaborately prepared and actually proclaimed in the Bombay Presidency, and failed simply because it was not in accordance with the traditions and customs of the country. So strange was it to the people, that they happily refrained from accepting it, even when proffered to them, and urged upon them. Does the fact not speak trumpet-tongued to us to—Let it alone?

Mr. Auckland Colvin sums up the general result of all the enquiries as follows :—

The conclusion of the whole matter seems to me to be, that the time has not yet come when the Government can with fairness and equitableness, declare the assessment of the land-revenue of these provinces permanent. And in the absence of any pressure from native opinion on the subject, I think the force of Mr. Karpenter's words unanswerable—"Why cannot we wait a few years, and see how our new settlements work? There is no object to be gained by declaring the settlement permanent at once. For the first half of the next thirty years at any rate, no land-owner will look forward to the end of the term. Land will bear just the same price, and improvements will be made just as freely as if the settlement were in perpetuity. A temporary settlement can be made permanent at any moment, but, once made, we cannot retrace our steps. After fifteen or twenty years have passed we shall be able to judge of the fairness of our settlements, and we shall have gained some knowledge as to the tendency of rents and prices. Why should we tie our hands now for the sake of the mere name of permanency. The best hints we have hitherto received on the subject are from Time himself, and I think we should do well to let him have his say. If he speaks slowly, he speaks very much more to the purpose than any one else yet has."

It is most satisfactory to find North-West men declaring these considerations to be "unanswerable." They are the echos of what we have ever insisted upon. Deficient in observing and generalizing power, we have still almost everything to learn concerning the conditions of the people's well-being; and while we remain in this ignorance and uncertainty, common prudence demands that we should avoid committing ourselves to legislating for the future, beyond what is absolutely necessary, eschewing with something of vehemence every attempt to commit us to what is 'permanent,' and cannot be undone. One might have supposed, we said in our last issue, that having tried our hand so disastrously at permanent arrangements in Bengal, there would have been little inclination for attempting finality anywhere else. Our sense of the unwisdom of the advice that counsels finality in any direction, standing as we do upon the threshold of all exact knowledge, is overwhelming; and the calm indifference with which arrangements that once made cannot be undone, are commonly urged upon us—is to us amazing. In almost every direction in which we look, our real strength is to sit still; to *do* as little as we can, until we more clearly see what the effects of our doing will be. All our

mistakes hitherto, or nearly all, have arisen from our impatience to be doing something that we had better have left alone. The passion for radical changes, and permanent arrangements, should be steadily resisted as contrary to common prudence, and common sense, in our present state of uncertainty concerning everything around us.

The Manchester newspapers reported Knight as having said as follows at the Conference of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce held in January 1866¹ :—

Mr. Knight, proprietor of *The Times of India* said he denied, as had been casually stated by one of the speakers, that the rack rent was half the produce in India, and he would defend India against the charge of having neglected to carry out public works. The dissatisfaction about waste lands, was to be attributed entirely to selfish interests, and there was also a great misapprehension about the term fee simple. It was not that which was asked, but the demand of men going to India was this—allow us to buy land at an upset price and bind yourselves for ever to come to us for no other tax. Again the people of England complained that India levied this duty and that tax, and at the same time they complained that there were no public improvements. How could these improvements be carried on without an income? Bad as the country's management was, it had spent since 1852, 58 millions in the improvement, of which 15 were on account of railways. He should object to the removal of duties on cotton goods and yarns, which were the principal sources of income in the Bombay Presidency, unless duties were removed from other imports. He also thought that both imports and export duties might be abolished, and he should not object to see an excise duty upon the Bombay mills—(Hear, hear). He complained of the great drain which England had upon India, which he estimated 18 millions a year, and said it had been the selfish rule of India which had made that country so poor. He advocated that the carrying out of public improvement in India should be left to a special Department.

Another report is as follows :—

Mr. Knight, proprietor of *The Times of India* and a large coffee planter, said he believed the Government of India was as desirous of pushing forward the affairs of the country as any man belonging to the

¹ In January 1890 the *Manchester Guardian* wrote as follows :—Robert Knight was well-known in Lancashire and our readers will not have forgotten the address he delivered many years ago before the Manchester Chamber of Commerce.

Chamber of Commerce. He regretted that the Chamber too largely reflected the uninformed non-official opinions prevalent in India. Wholesale charges against the obstructiveness of the Government must be carefully received. As to the sale of waste lands, he had no difficulty whatever as a private person in getting some when he wanted it; and his plantation was so remunerative that, instead of calling upon Government to make a road to it, he did it himself. The statement that the assessment of India was a rack rent of half the produce was perfectly monstrous. All the agitations about land was got up by Indigo and Tea planters. If contract laws were so badly required, how was it that he, who had 300 people on his plantation, had never needed one? By treating the coolies considerately, and paying them liberally, he had never had the slightest trouble with them. This Chamber was to a great extent answerable for the fact that the public works were not prosecuted in India, in that country their hands were tied every way, in reference to taxes, and yet they were expected to do public work upon the most gigantic scale; and the Manchester gentlemen who were always commenting upon them, would not help them with a single sixpence. Through Mr. James Wilson, who might be considered a Manchester representative, they refused the people in India any guarantee for their debt, and an act of Parliament prohibited the Secretary of State going upon the Stock Exchange for a loan. The Manchester people abused every tax that the India Government levied. He objected to the remarks which had been made about the land tax, and recommended that public works should be constructed by means of loans. He also warmly urged that instead of Indian finance being characterized by chronic deficit it showed a more respectable balance than any other country.

Allan Octavian Hume, the first and (the last) Secretary of the Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce Department of the Government of India established by Lord Mayo in 1871, who knew Robert Knight intimately, wrote thus on this great effort of his friend:—

Many very able men, both at home and in India, think that Robert Knight has done the country a very great service by his writings, and even those who like myself oppose the very fundamental dogma of his revenue teachings, cannot deny that by his vigorous and persistent writings he had done more to bring about correct views on the all important question of land revenue, exciting discussion and forcing men to think than any one else during the last 25 years. His reputation is higher

than that of any other Indian journalist since Marshman. He is always honest and conscientious. When the Agricultural Department was formed in 1871 Lord Mayo almost decided to bring him into the Government of India Secretariat as Statistician editor of a Government Agricultural, Forest and Economic Journal. This was the position in which Lord Mayo intended to place him when opportunity offered. How highly Lord Mayo thought of him is well-known, and since Lord Mayo's death he has been in consequence befriended by Lord Mayo's friends both at home and here.

In October, 1866, Knight heard in London that in the midst of the great depression of all interests in Bombay, the Elphinstone Land Purchase Company were about to make a further call upon their shareholders for works that could not be deferred but at heavy loss thereto. Bombay was in so critical a position at the time that the call was an act of downright cruelty, if it were possible to avoid it in any way. In these circumstances it occurred to him to make a personal appeal to the Secretary of State to give some assistance to the Government. He had an interview with Lord Cranborne at the India Office and pressed earnestly upon him the great services which the Company had rendered to the State, and urged him to come to its assistance. Lord Cranborne expressed the strongest sympathy for the Company and gave Knight the assurance that he would require Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, the Governor-elect of the Presidency, to give the subject his attention the moment he landed in Bombay. About a fortnight afterwards Knight published a letter to Lord Cranborne on the subject to keep the matter before him. Lord Cranborne told Knight at this interview with him, that matters being at a "dead-lock" between Sir Bartle Frere and the Supreme Government, it would be necessary to defer the proposal until Seymour Fitzgerald reached Bombay, when it should be urged upon his attention at once. A fortnight afterwards Knight left England for Bombay, and upon his arrival, sent a copy of his letter to Lord Cranborne to all the papers. The letter was published on the 5th January, 1867. Knight went home

again in May, 1867, determined to urge the proposal upon Sir Stafford Northcote which he did personally, and thereby published the letter dated the 3rd August, 1867. This letter was also sent out to India. At last after three years of negotiation, the Bombay foreshore became once more the property of the State, the Company receiving back the principal amount of their outlay, but losing the interest of all the years they had been at work.

Knight had, during the collapse of the share-mania in Bombay in 1865-1866, submitted a scheme to the Indian authorities in England the adoption of which would have proved the salvation of many old families among the Indians who were ruined by the crisis. Knight represented that the crisis in question was mainly brought about by the sudden turn of the American cotton market, but as the parties involved were possessed of substantial securities in the shape of landed property in the island, Government should step in and stay the havoc which portended beggary for merchant-landlords who had borne the heat and brunt of the day to ensure prosperity to Bombay. Knight demonstrated in his own trenchant way that the sudden depreciation of the landed property in such a rising place as Bombay could only be temporary, and that the individuals involved possessed resources which only required the return of normal times to regain their pristine value. This representation was addressed officially to the Duke of Argyll who was then the Secretary of State for India. The *laissez-faire* system was then in the ascendant, and matters were left to take their course. The consequence was that commercial Bombay fell a prey to desolation, and its most ancient families were sold out of house and home. The head of these families, besides their venture in cotton, had gone in for land-speculation, being actually incited thereto by the Government of the day. Sir Bartle Frere was then at the head of the Bombay Government, and he had an

inordinate ambition of playing the rôle of Augustus, who was said to have found Rome of bricks and left it of marble. Sir Bartle finding that Bombay was flushed with its suddenly acquired wealth, projected a new town in what may be called the *maidan* of Bombay city proper, and for this purpose set up all available land belonging to Government for public competition. People were then in the phrenzy of excitement and took over the land in parcels at fancy prices, the proceeds of which went into the coffers of the State. Knight laid stress on this incident and urged that Government was morally, if not legally, bound to come to the rescue of men who were in some measure the victims of its own ill-regulated policy. Sir Bartle was much blamed at the time, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was then the Finance Minister, denounced Sir Bartle's building-mania in a passage in his budget statement which for its sarcasm and pungency has seldom been surpassed in official literature. Subsequent events tended to show that Knight in the action he took on the occasion was prompted as it were by the prescience of a seer, for property in Bombay in no long time after rose in value, and if the original holders had only tided over their difficulties, their assets would have paid their creditors three times over. As it was old Bombay was literally ruined. It was owing to official obdurateness that the counsel of Knight was not listened to at the time for the course he recommended was no other than what the Government of India was pursuing then in other parts of India.

During Knight's absence from Bombay his partner, Matthias Mull, taking advantage of his heavy financial loss, and aided by influential friends, determined to oust him from the *Times of India* concern, and on his return to Bombay, Knight found himself in the beginning of 1868* in a very uncomfortable position. To put an end to the acute differences

* On Knight's assuming charge of the editorship of the *Times of India*, William Martin Wood went home on furlough.

which arose between him and his partner, about their interest in the *Times of India* newspaper and printing offices, Knight agreed to retire from the business in favour of his partner, and by an agreement made on the 28th November, 1868, it was mutually agreed (1) that the said partnership should be dissolved from the 1st of July, 1868; (2) that Robert Knight should sell his share* in the partnership property to Matthias Mull for one lakh of rupees; (3) that he should receive Rs. 40,000 in cash at once, Rs. 40,000 on the 3rd June, 1869, and the balance Rs. 20,000 on the 3rd June, 1870; (4) that the unpaid portion of the purchase money of Robert Knight's share in the partnership property and outstandings (Rs. 60,000) should be secured by a mortgage of the said newspaper and printing office; (5) that Robert Knight should be and remain sole editor of the *Times of India* for 12 months from the 1st of July, 1868, on a salary of Rs. 1,300 per mensem which should be paid regularly on the 1st of every month; (6) that Robert Knight shall not carry on, edit or become, or be in any way directly or indirectly, in property or otherwise connected with the carrying on, or editing of, any other newspaper or periodical within the Presidency of Bombay, except the said *Times of India*.

But in January, 1869, Knight was informed by Matthias Mull that he would not permit him to discharge the duties of the editor of the *Times of India*. The following correspondence between them reveals fully the reason of the quarrel :—

To R. KNIGHT, Esq.

SIR,—I have heard with considerable consternation, that while I was in England in 1862, you entered into a negotiation affecting the reputation and interests of this office, which demands immediate explanation, and refutation if that be possible.

* This share was virtually purchased by Colonel William Nassau Lees who had been Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah and William Martin Wood who succeeded Robert Knight as editor of the *Times of India*. Colonel Lees eventually acquired the whole

I am informed by Mr. William Sim * of Bombay, that you tendered to him the first inspection of telegrams coming to this office, the consideration for which privilege was the sum of Rs. 4,000 (four thousand) paid you. No such sum, of course, appears in our books, as it was a private transaction into which you induced Mr. Sim to enter.

If no satisfactory refutation of the alleged transaction is furnished me during business hours to-day, I shall take what course I deem necessary in the matter.

23rd January, 1869.

I am, etc.,

M. MULL.

To M. MULL, Esq.

SIR,—I do not deign to answer the insolent and calumnious charge. You must know it to be false as well as I do.

Yours obediently,

R. KNIGHT.

23rd January, 1869.

To R. KNIGHT, Esq.

SIR,—Your reply is most unsatisfactory. I have from Mr. Sim himself the statement made in my former letter, and he has permitted me to use his name in support of that statement.

Mere denial, therefore, on your part cannot be expected to satisfy me.

Yours, etc.,

M. MULL.

23rd January, 1869.

To R. KNIGHT, Esq.

SIR,—You have forwarded to Mr. Sim my (to-day's) letters and your denial of the charge therein made. He in his reply to you, confirms

concern. A Bombay journalist thus writes about Colonel Nassau Lees :—" Nassau Lees was not a frequent visitor to Bombay. He was an Oriental Scholar and had been Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah. His contributions to the current newspaper literature of the period were made over the pseudonym of 'Hafiz' or 'Cariolanus' and were not conspicuous for their merit as pieces of composition." For an account see Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 249.

* William Sim was proprietor of the *Bengal Hurkaru* newspaper of Calcutta. He used to utilize the *Times of India* Telegraphic News Agency established by Knight for his own paper at Calcutta.

to the fullest that charge, and besides supplies further information which affects Mr. Manockjee Tuback. After this confirmation by Mr. Sim himself your denial can be characterised only in the most painful, emphatic and denunciatory terms. You thought that by putting into his hands your audacious denial to me—appalling in its falsehood—he would probably follow your lead and sustain you in the lying course you had taken.

Not only have you resorted to falsehood in denying the transaction now proved, but you were so base as to cast upon me the imputation that I must know it to be “false as well as” you. To reply as you did “I do not deign to answer the insolent and calumnious charge,” when you knew that that charge was true, reveals a depth of degradation not altogether unknown to me, but only now visible in its broadest and darkest colours.

As you have not hesitated (in the desperate hope of checking further enquiry) to impute to me the knowledge that I was falsely accusing you, and seeing that you have resorted to the most reckless falsehood in the same vain hope, I deem you unfit to conduct for one hour longer the editorial duties of the *Times of India*, and besides I also deem you a dangerous man to be on these premises. I, therefore, prohibit your entering this office as editor any longer; your presence will only be recognised as a private individual for the purpose of removing any property that may belong to you.

Yours, etc.,

M. MULL.

23rd January, 1869.

To M. MULL, Esq.

SIR,—I have received your foolish and wicked letter of yesterday. Your charge is simply a calumny from beginning to end. It was impossible for me to reply to Mr. Sim yesterday from pressure of another engagement, but I was fortunately able before leaving office to lay my hands upon the correspondence of 1862 which I had feared was destroyed long since, concerning this Rs. 4,000 which you calumniously say was paid for the sale of the *Times* telegrams. I, therefore, warn you against persistence to get this journal into your own hands at all costs. As potential mortgagee thereof, for I suppose £ 17,000 or £ 18,000, and as sole editor by contract till 30th June next, I will suffer no interference therewith on your part of any kind, and if necessary will apply to the Court of Chancery to remove you from the premises altogether. You

will find that I have far greater powers as mortgagee than unfortunately for myself I ever possessed as partner.

I have given instructions to the printers for to-morrow's paper, and if you interfere therewith I will go straight to the Chancery Court for relief against your unprincipled efforts to drive me by outrage out of a property in which I possess so overwhelming and you so subordinate an interest.

Yours, etc.,

R. KNIGHT.

24th January, 1869.

To R. KNIGHT, Esq.,

SIR,—I have received your letter of this day's date, in which there is no attempt whatever at explanation or refutation of the statement made to me by Mr. Sim, and subsequently confirmed by that gentleman in his letter to you yesterday. Your letter to which I am now replying consists, indeed, only of abuse and threats—the former is beneath my notice and the latter I can afford to disregard.

For the protection of my own interests, and from regard to the reputation of this journal, I shall adhere to my determination to relieve you of your editorial duties forthwith.

Yours, etc.,

M. MULL.

24th January, 1869.

To M. MULL, Esq.

SIR,—I am not anxious, but am quite determined to go for relief to the High Court as soon as I can prepare an affidavit setting forth the long course of injury and persecution I have sustained at your hands, if you do not send me by 1 o'clock to-day the assurance that you will cease to interfere with the editorship of this paper. You cannot but know that you are violating, in the most open manner, one of the conditions upon which I agreed to retire from the firm in your favour, namely, that I should be and *remain sole* editor thereof until the 30th June next, when the second heavy instalment you have to pay me becomes due. You cannot but know moreover that I ought to have already had the mortgage of the property in my hands, and that the delay has been occasioned through Mr. Wilkins' concentrating himself upon your calender.

And, lastly, that while my heavy claim thereon remains unpaid, I and not you am the real proprietor of the journal. Now I have yielded as far as I mean to yield, and I will *not* allow you to interfere with the editorship any further, and unless you send me by 1 o'clock to-day the assurance that you will commit no further breach of the twelfth condition of our agreement, I will devote the after-noon to preparing an affidavit applying for an injunction to-morrow if possible. I should hope that you are not going to be mad enough to force me to assert my rights under our contract, in the Chancery Court.

Yours, etc.,
R. KNIGHT.

25th January, 1869.

To R. KNIGHT, Esq.

SIR,—You have a plain duty before you—not to resort to threats, which I disregard altogether—but to clear yourself of the imputation alleged against you by Mr. Sim.

In your letter of yesterday you declare that you have in your possession correspondence which places the transaction under notice in light which contradicts Mr. Sim's statement. Produce it at once—that would be the course of an innocent man, the "calumny" will then meet its *quietus*. I shall rejoice at your being able to exculpate yourself, and Mr. Sim will no doubt apologise. Your exculpation, according to your own statement, is in your own hands. I accept your word, that you have the power to satisfactorily explain the transaction, on the condition that you supply me with your alleged proof in 48 hours from this time. Unless that be done, I shall resume, what I had begun, to take the editorial conduct of this journal into my own hands.

Yours, etc.,
M. MULL.

25th January, 1869.

P. S.—You have introduced much irrelevant matter into this as into your former letter, which is but a waste of time on your part. I only notice the subject for the purpose of saying, that you have been asked several times, as yet unsuccessfully, for some accounts of monies paid by you in London, which accounts are needed for the adjustment of the books of this office.

TO R. KNIGHT, ESQ.,

SIR,—You have failed to place in my hands certain correspondence which you declare in your letter of 24th instant you are in possession of, the purport of which you intimate alters the character of the transaction alleged against you. I have reason to believe that no such correspondence exists, and that your statement that it does exist is untruthful.

Mr. Sim, in the correspondence that has passed between you both during the last two days, adheres to the statement made in his letter to you of the 23rd; consequently, there is no course now open but to adhere to the determination expressed in my letter of Monday to relieve you of the editorial duties of this journal from to-day.

Yours, etc.,
M. MULL.

27th January, 1869.

M. MULL, Esq., *Times of India* Office.

SIR,—Mr. Knight has placed in our hands the correspondence which has recently passed between yourself and him, in which you claim the right to determine his editorship of the *Times of India* on the ground that misconduct alleged to have taken place so far back as 1862, but for which as we are instructed, there is not the slightest foundation.

We are now instructed by Mr. Knight to deny that you have any right whatever under your agreement with him, to put an end to the editorship especially reserved to him by the terms of your dissolution of partnership, and to give you notice that in the event of your in any way obstructing him in the continuation of his duties as editor, or otherwise omitting to fulfil your engagements under the agreement in question, we are instructed to file a suit against you to compel the specific performance of the agreement, and for damages in consequence of its breach.

We are, etc.,
ACLAND, PRENTIS AND BISHOP.

28th January, 1869.

TO MESSRS. ACLAND, PRENTIS AND BISHOP.

GENTLEMEN,—I claim and have exercised, the right as proprietor to determine the editorship of the *Times of India* in the person of Mr. R. KNIGHT. If he thinks fit to question that right, the Courts are open or redress.

Besides the reasons assigned for relieving him of his editorial duties, he is doing serious damage to my property by his scandalous writings affecting the reputation of public men, for an instance of which I refer him to his leading article of Saturday last.

I am, yours faithfully,
M. MULL.

Accordingly on the 2nd February, 1869, at the High Court, Bombay, Mr. White (with whom was Mr. Dunbar) instructed by Messrs. Agland, Prentis and Bishop made an *ex parte* application to the Hon'ble Sir Joseph Arnould to present a plaint filed by Robert Knight against Matthias Mull; and at the same time to move for a rule calling on the defendant to show cause why an injunction should not issue under the circumstances set forth in the affidavit of the plaintiff. The plaint was as follows : —

1. The plaintiff and the defendant were for some time partners in Bombay as proprietors of *Times of India* newspaper and of the printing office connected therewith. By a memorandum of agreement made on the twenty-eighth day of November, 1868, it was mutually agreed that this said partnership should be dissolved as from the first day of July, 1868.

2. It was by the said agreement further provided that the plaintiff should sell his share in the partnership property to the defendant on the terms therein mentioned, and it was further provided that the unpaid portion of the purchase-money of the plaintiff's share in the partnership property and his share of the partnership property and outstanding should be secured by a mortgage of the said newspaper and printing office.

3. By the twelfth clause of the said agreement it was provided that the plaintiff should be, and remain, sole editor of the said *Times of India* from and to the end of twelve months from the 1st of July, 1868, at a salary of Rs. 1,300 per mensem, and that the defendant would pay the plaintiff the said last mentioned salary regularly every month from the said 1st day of July during the said last mentioned term of twelve months from that date. The plaintiff had been for a long time previous the editor of the said newspaper, and after the making of the said agreement he continued to act as editor, until interfered with by the defendant as herein stated.

6. The plaintiff occupied a room in the office of the said newspaper for the discharge of the duties of editor.

7. On the 28th January last, the defendant informed the plaintiff that he could not permit him any longer to discharge the duties of editor of the said newspaper, and that he would take possession of the said room which had been so occupied by the plaintiff.

8. Since the twenty eighth of January last the defendant has entirely excluded the plaintiff from the office of the said newspaper, and has refused to allow the plaintiff to have access thereto, and has taken possession of the said room occupied by the plaintiff, and has refused to allow the plaintiff to act as editor of the said newspaper, and has entirely prevented him from so acting.

9. Plaintiff submits that he is entitled to have the said twelfth clause of the said agreement of the 28th of November, 1868, specially performed by the defendant, and that the defendant ought to be restricted by the order and injunction of this Hon'ble Court from preventing or hindering the plaintiff from discharging the duties of editor of the said newspaper.

The plaintiff prays for the following or such other relief as the nature of the case may require :—

1. That the plaintiff may be declared entitled to have the said agreement of the 28th of November, 1868, especially performed by the defendant.

2. That the defendant may be empowered to allow the plaintiff to remain and be sole editor of the said newspaper for twelve months from the 1st day of July, 1868.

3. That the defendant may be restrained by the order and injunction of this Hon'ble Court from interfering with or of obstructing or preventing the plaintiff from acting as sole editor of the said newspaper for the said term of twelve months.

4. The plaintiff, in the alternative claims Rs. 50,000 damages for the defendant's breach of the said 12th clause of the said agreement.

5. That the defendant may be decreed to pay the costs of this suit.

The plaint was accepted, and an affidavit which was a mere echo of the plaint and was filed by Knight in support of the plaint, was then read. The last portion of the affidavit ran thus :—

With reference to such interference and exclusion as aforesaid, certain correspondence has passed between me and the said defendant,

between my solicitors and the said defendant, copies whereof are annexed to the plaint filed in this suit, and to which, for the sake of brevity, I crave leave to refer.

The charges therein made against me by the said defendant are wholly untrue.

As there was a *prima facie* case, Sir Joseph Arnould said :—

Take an order *nisi* for an injunction, injunction to issue *ad interim* until further order. That will give you everything you want, because Mr. Knight will have access to the room, and be sole editor until the Court do otherwise order, which will be after the hearing.

A formal order was then drawn up embodying the foregoing direction of the Court. The following note by Knight appeared in the *Times of India* of 3rd February, 1869, after the report of the case :—

After many years of painful differences with his partner Mr. Mull Mr. Knight finally determined on his arrival in India a few months ago (May, 1868) that the partnership should cease. Mr. Knight having much the larger interest in the journal was willing to buy Mr. Mull's share therein, upon such term as arbitrators might determine, but Mr. Mull was very anxious that Mr. Knight should retire from the firm instead, and as it was more important for Mr. Mull to remain by the property than for Mr. Knight to do so, the latter consented, though with considerable reluctance, to retire in his favour. After a protracted negotiation, the terms of Mr. Knight's retirement were finally settled on the 11th July last, as set forth in the agreement referred to above. Mr. Mull now gave infinite trouble before paying the earnest money, and the preliminary agreement, owing to his irritating delays, was not signed until the 28th November, when the money was at last forthcoming. Mr. Knight has been greatly blamed by his friends and legal advisors for the terms consented to by him in this agreement, as under them he leaves four-fifths of his capital in the business for a very long term. Now one of the conditions of the sale was that Mr. Knight should 'be and remain sole editor of the journal until the 30th June next, when the second instalment of the purchase money (£4,000 with interest) becomes due.' This condition Mr. Mull has systematically violated. For many months Mr. Knight has never known when leaving office in the evening what would appear in the paper next

morning. Living upon the premises, Mr. Mull has claimed and exercised the right of putting whatever he pleased in the paper, and on several occasions has published in its columns communications expressly intended, and known by the staff in the office, to be intended, as reflections upon Mr. Knight. At midnight, in one instance, long after Mr. Knight had left office, Mr. Mull compelled the printers to append a footnote to a leading article of Mr. Knight's, reflecting grossly upon Mr. Knight's article. The next day he inserted in the correspondence columns a letter designed to convey covertly the most injurious reflections upon Mr. Knight's character, and refused to give up the manuscript of the letter, or to state who was its author. About the same time he wrote a letter to Mr. Knight's legal advisers, requiring him upon some trumpery charge to abandon the editorship of the journal as a condition of his (Mr. Mull's) fulfilling the agreement of the previous month. The paper has also constantly contained extracts from other journals, inserted as Mr. Knight believes, by Mr. Mull's order, reflecting upon Mr. Knight's writings, and so late as a fortnight since, a letter headed 'Beware' was published in its correspondence columns, warning the public not to trust the editorial columns of the journal. In none of these instances has Mr. Knight been able to recover the manuscript from the printers, Mr. Mull taking care to secure it himself.

Mr. Mull has wished to bring Mr. Knight's writings into discredit and has treated all his remonstrances with contempt. It has been impossible of course for Mr. Knight to take proper interest in his work under these circumstances but he has striven to do it conscientiously and as far as possible has refused to see what was going on, that he might, if possible, avoid the scandal of an open quarrel. This has now been made unavoidable by Mr. Mull terminating the editorship upon the pretext of the scandalous story narrated in the above proceedings; for that it is a mere pretext Mr. Mull does not himself conceal. He had admitted that it was *not* this calumny that led him to this violence, but that certain of Mr. Knight's recent writings had very greatly offended him and his friends. The truth is that the money, to purchase Mr. Knight's interest in the paper, is being furnished by parties who are desirous of changing the editorship of the journal permanently.

Mr. Knight would not apply to the court at all for relief, but would found another journal in Bombay, had he not still so deep an interest in the *Times of India* and were he not bound by his engagement not to do so. In due course he believes it will be in his power to show conclusively

the untruthfulness of the charges made against him, and may mention that Mr. Mull himself offered to withdraw it, and to pay Mr. Knight his salary up to the end of June, when the editorship terminates by contract, if Mr. Knight would only resign the editorship. Mr. Knight felt that it would be wrong for him to resign under such circumstances and refused to do so. When the injunction comes on for bearing, all the correspondence connected with the case will be laid before the Court. Mr. Knight expresses once more his regret that all his efforts to avoid this open quarrel have been frustrated. Only his intimate friends know what he has suffered during this partnership, and the consideration, forbearance and gentleness which have been at last thus rewarded. Mr. Mull when urging Mr. Knight to retire in his favour, was profuse in his assurances that Mr. Knight's reputation in connection with the paper should ever be jealously asserted !

The case, Knight *vs.* Mull, did not come to a hearing, but was referred to the arbitration of the Hon'ble Justice James Gibbs of the Bombay High Court and the Hon'ble A. H. Campbell of the Bombay Government, who decided that if Matthias Mull* could pay down immediately Knight's balance of pay as editor of the *Times of India* till the 30th June, 1869, he would cease writing for the *Times of India* as its editor, but he would remain its potential editor to make the agreement lawful. Matthias Mull paid the sum, and

* A Bombay journalist thus writes about Matthias Mull :—"Mull was a musical enthusiast who also believed that he had a special mission to construe Shakespear. He was the originator of the rupee popular concerts at the Town Hall and indeed took a prominent part in everything connected with music in Bombay in those days. He was the kindest and most generous of men, and much sympathy was manifested for him in the financial troubles which darkened the closing years of his life. He usually devoted the early mornings to a careful perusal of the day's issue in which he would mark in red ink any blunders, printer's or literary, and send the marked copy to the members of the staff as an object lesson. Once a dreadful thing happened. The Bishop had consecrated a small place of worship on the previous day, and in the course of his address had remarked that it required to be "dammered," a term well-known to Bombay residents. But the next day's paper presented the greatest ecclesiastical dignitary of the island as having said that the "Church ought to be d--d." Of course it was a printer's or a proof-reader's blunder, but the unlucky reporter had to suffer. "You have ruined the paper, Sir," said Mull. The offence was unforgivable and that reporter had to seek another sphere for his talent for misrepresenting things." For an account see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 306.

Knight's connection with the premier daily newspaper of Bombay ceased forever on the 1st. April 1869. Thus closed a most brilliant chapter of Knight's journalistic life. In the following memorandum Knight has recounted some of his work as editor of the *Times of India* :—

STRANGER'S HOME :—It was I who founded the Stranger's Home in Bombay. There was a great outcry in the monsoon of 1861 or 1862 in the island on account of the numerous loafers and poor destitute Europeans in the town. They were sleeping under the eaves of the houses wet, wretched and homeless. No one seemed to know what to do, when I determined to make an effort to extinguish loafing in Bombay altogether, and I thought out a plan for the purpose. I determined that the first thing to be done was to open a home for the men, and to admit everyone into it upon mere application and then to transport from the country to a cold climate all who were found to be the victims of intemperate habits. I called together half a dozen of the leading European merchants of the town and explained my plans to them, and got their hearty approval and assistance. I then took the large building at Colaba for a home, and organised within a few days the Stranger's Friend Society, while through Dr. Birdwood's bold suggestion to Sir Cowasjee Jehangir Readymoney, I obtained an endowment of Rs. 50,000 for building a Home. Bombay owes the institution to myself. It was I who conceived the idea of it, opened the Home, organised the Society and conducted the Secretaryship for some months until it was set agoing.

THE INDO-BRITISH SCHOOL :—In acknowledgment of a service I had done one of the native merchants of Bombay who had been heavily and unjustly surcharged for Income tax, he shipped on my behalf 100 bales of cotton to Europe on which the profit amounted to Rs. 6,500 (£ 650) which sum I refused myself and made him devote to the Indo-British School there in great distress. So I suppose I have been one of its leading benefactors.

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE :—I am the only publicist I think of my time in India who has ever received the honor of a vote of thanks from any of these chambers. I received such a vote in 1860 or 1861 from the Bombay Chamber for services I rendered the community in connection with the telegraph of the country, and about the same time the shipmasters of Bombay assembled to present me with a similar vote for services I had rendered them in some difficulty connected with the measurement of freights

in this post. The chamber is under heavy obligation to me also for preventing its being sundered in 1861 and a rival body set up thereto.

It was only my refusal to be their Secretary and my negotiations between the chambers and the seceders of that year that prevented the latter from founding the "Commercial Association of Bombay." The two great houses of Forbes and Remington who had never joined the chamber wanted to form a new Association in connection with Messrs. Graham & Co.; Ritchie, Stuart & Co. and others, and with me as Secretary, and it was simply my clear sense of the undesirableness of such a division of interests that healed the quarrel, when I was assured that for my services the reversion of the Secretaryship then held by Mr. H. Brooke, should be regarded as mine.

THE BANK OF BOMBAY :—I arrived in the most opportune moment in Bombay in April, 1867, just in time to arrest the efforts of Mr. Dickson*

* Before this time (in March 1867), when the failure of the Bank of Bombay was imminent, constructive proposals for the improvement of Indian banking were put forward by the Bank of Bengal's able Secretary, Mr. G. Dickson. The Directors considered the question from a broad point of view the formation of a great Central Bank under one charter and a new name by the fusion of the three banks while at the same time conserving existing interests. The paid-up capital was to be Rs. 5 crores with an unpaid capital of the same amount. Mr. Dickson proposed that the banks should do the same business as hitherto done by the Presidency banks, and at the same time hoped that the Government of India would return to 'sounder views' on the question of the paper currency.

Mr. Dickson proposed local boards of directors at Bombay and Madras, but the central control would be the board in Calcutta. The rules of doing business in Calcutta would be followed by the Bombay and Madras boards. The Bank of Bombay did not agree to the scheme, and the Bank of Bengal thereupon withdrew in August, 1867 from the negotiations.

In January, 1868, the Bank of Bombay went into liquidation. The liabilities were subsequently paid up in full, but Rs. 139 lakhs of capital were lost. A new Bank of Bombay was formed in the same year with a capital of Rs. 100 lakhs, Rs. 50 lakhs being paid up in 1868 and the remainder in 1874. The history of the speculative mania leading to the liquidation of the bank and of that remarkable personage Mr. Premchand Raychand, whose position was not that of an ordinary speculator, is well described in *A Financial Chapter in the History of Bombay City*, by Sir D. E. Wacha :—Bombay, A. J. Cambridge and Company [Extract from Shirras's *Indian Finance and Banking*, p. 358].

In August 1868 the Chairman of the new Bank of Bombay said in a speech :—

To Mr. Wood of the *Times of India* we are under great obligations for his able and consistent advocacy of our interests and to whom in a great measure we are indebted for the success of reconstruction (*Applause*).

Knight as editor denied that Martin Wood personally deserved thanks for the part played by him in the reconstruction business. On the contrary Martin Wood had

to prevent the resuscitation of the Bank of Bombay There would have been no Bank of Bombay in existence to-day but for the energy and tact with which I threw myself across Mr. Dickson's effort to reduce Bombay to the position of financial dependance upon Calcutta. Mr. Martin Wood was directly assisting Mr. Dickson when I arrived, and his only merit in the matter was that after I had awakened a strong public opinion against the amalgamation of the Bank, he kept faithfully in the groove I placed him in.

THE HARBOUR FORESHORE:—Every one knows I believe that the idea of resuming the harbour foreshore from the private hands into which it had passed and reclaiming it for the public, was my own suggestion entirely and that it was carried very largely through my exertions both upon the spot and in London at the India Office. It was not my fault and was not my intention that the Harbour Trust should be burdened with the whole estate as it has been and I had nothing to do with that part of the matter; but it is well for the public interests that the harbour foreshore should be in the hand of a public trust. The community owes the fact that it is so to myself. The landed estate ought to be in the hands of the Municipality, I conceive, instead of being a burden on the Trust, and the Municipality should look eventually to this great estate for its revenue.

WATER SUPPLY:—Every one I suppose will allow that there would have been no Tulsi scheme or any other scheme seriously entertained for an increased water supply but for my vehement and persistent advocacy of it. I am not in the least desirous of taking from Dr. Blaney or the other gentlemen connected with the Tulsi scheme the praise that belongs to them; but it was I and not they who filled the public mind with the conviction of its necessity. When I came out last nearly five years ago every one seemed to have made up his mind that Vehar with its paltry supply of eight gallons per head per day was sufficient, and the notion of a further water supply when entertained at all was only as necessary as a great sewerage drainage scheme. The Bombay people owe

committed the paper to the policy of amalgamation, but Knight happening to be in Bombay temporarily with the consent of Wood, took up his pen against amalgamation and advocated reconstruction. He would have been content if the paper only had been thanked and not any particular individual, but when the individual writer had been particularised, Martin Wood, Knight held, ought to have disclaimed all credit. This matter led to a difference between Knight and his co-proprietor, Matthias Mull and Knight said that there was a division in the house. Martin Wood was then on furlough.

Tulsi to my writings on the general necessity of increasing the supply. I would not have selected Tulsi for the purpose myself, because I think all such efforts inadequate and provisional only; and if Bombay ever gets—as it certainly will a limitless supply of pure water, the only supply we should ever contemplate for a growing city, the community will owe it to me.

THE TOWN DUTIES:—The history connected with this matter is so recent that I need hardly recall it, though no one is likely to remember the disgraceful personal abuse with which I was attacked for my efforts to get the error of the abolition of the duties admitted. Few men I believe, would have had the courage to encounter the unpopularity and the calumnies my resolution in this matter brought upon me. I knew that I was right and in spite of the mass prejudice arrayed against me and the measure, I was fortunately able to get the duties reimposed, but for which the Municipality would have been hopelessly bankrupt so far back as 1869. I summarised with my own hand the census returns of 1864 to show the results in a way that I felt must convince the honest enquirer of the impracticability of the rate system. It was while I was upon that the disclosure lighted upon me of the population being housed in some of the chief districts of the Island at the rate of 60, 70, 80 and even 100 persons to a house. I wanted no more than this discovery to make the error of Act II of 1865 certain. Every one now admits the absolute necessity of town duties as a part of the municipal resources, and it is certain that our chief reliance ought to be thereon; but how many men I ask would have had the resolution to face the torrent of angry abuse which my persistence brought upon me? As a fact, I have been made to suffer pecuniarily very heavily for the course I have taken in municipal matters, while there is now greater or less readiness in all quarters to admit that my measures will have to be adopted.

It may be laid down as a leading principle of Indian finance, that *direct taxes in India must ever be odious, oppressive, and dangerous, from the character of the machinery to which their collection is entrusted.*

To make a gross collection of about £ 30,000 a year, they were sending out in Bombay, in 1868, under the Frere Act, some 50,000 bills, to be collected from 15,000 of the lower middling classes, whom they dignified with the title of house owners. And this absurdity was the outcome of Sir Bartle Frere's notion that everything Indian should be recast upon the English model.

We put the Municipal Controller of Bombay at the time to some trouble, by requiring him to furnish us with certain information concerning

the distress warrants running at one time in the island, which it was necessary to obtain for the full understanding of the difficulty. We found then that these warrants were for the following accounts:—

4,699 warrants for sums of from	...	Rs. 1 to 10.
1,310 " "	...	10 to 20.
820 " "	...	20 to 50.
178 " "	...	50 to 100.
59 " "	...	100 to 800.

Thus, under Sir Bartle Frere's statesmanship, six thousand men in the island were being constantly pursued by distress warrants for sums of from one to twenty rupees, and 820 more for sums below fifty rupees. We ascertained further, at the cost of a good deal of trouble to the Controller's office, that the number of house owners against whom these warrants were running was but 2,731, two-thirds of whom were so wretchedly poor that the sum which they were unable to pay did not, upon the average, exceed eleven rupees! Once more, we found that of the five hundred and thirty distress warrants running for wheel-tax, no less than 408 were against poor men keeping but one horse, presumably from necessity, while Sir Bartle Frere fastened upon this class a fine of 5 rupees a year for wheel-tax alone, under this system of rates. The whole thing was a scandal and utter folly. We succeeded, amidst great excitement in 1863, in getting Sir Bartle Frere's error remedied in part, to the grant relief of the island but Sir Richard Temple at that time in the supreme Government of India prevented all adequate reform. It was owing to our own persistence alone, that the wrong was in part remedied. The same error has been repeated all over India. The people are blistered by direct taxes of all kinds that yield a minimum of return with a maximum of extortion and suffering.

THE DEATH RATE:—Every one knows that the Bombay death rate is exceptionally heavy and that it ought to be exceptionally light. Who is it then that has been striving for years without either weariness or disgust to awaken a public opinion upon the matter that shall put an end to such a state of things? If the death rate is finally lowered by the carrying out of the measures with the general nature of which and the means of accomplishing them I have familiarised the public mind, who will have been the real author of the reform? The native papers have been taught that I am the enemy of the people and the interested supporter of the rich. It is the cause of the poor that I have been pleading,

not the cause of the rich. It is the poor that are decimated by finer amongst us and that fatten the churchyards and fill the Tower of Silence. It is now years since I urged these considerations upon the community. In the last four years not less than 20,000 to 25,000 persons have fallen victims in this island to our violation of God's immutable laws, our violation of them. For these men have died through our sin. The poor amongst us have no power whatever to resist us. It is we who sin, it is they who die. The Government is wholly in our hands: and we do just what we please. We have only to go on still as we are now doing, to slaughter a whole hecatomb of these helpless people in the next twenty years. I have done all in my power to awaken a public conscience in this matter, and by and by all that I have so earnestly recommended will be done; but it is not very likely that the mind that first popularised the conviction of their need will be remembered.

So as to the distress warrants whatever of moderation is being shown in the pure collection of these rates is fairly attributable to my own writings, as every one will I think admit, and if the issue of these warrants should finally cease, it will be by my efforts in the main that they do so.

THE HOUSE TAX :—Who is it again that has at last nearly convinced every one of the injustice of screwing up the house rate year after year to whatever pitch the Municipal necessities required? But for me the rate would to a certainty have gone up to the full 10 per cent. of Act II of 1865 while my persistence has been rewarded by a general admission at last that the casting everything upon this rate was most unjust. A radical reform is wanted on the subject of these rates, and the new Municipal Bill marks a distinct stage of advance, but who has it that made the step forward inevitable?

PRIVATE CAUSES ESPOUSED :—I need say I believe nothing of the many private wrongs I have made my own or of the persistent efforts with which I have striven to redress. The very names of the persons I have defended have in some cases faded from my recollection, and I have been more than once accosted of late years by men whom I thought perfect strangers with expressions of gratitude for services I had rendered them and forgotten. The late Mr. Hutchinson owed his pension entirely to me, and I have never hesitated to espouse any man's cause, however unpopular if my conscience told me that he had been wronged. I stood by Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonji when he was intensely unpopular in Bombay, because I knew him to be what he still is, an honest and good man, and I opposed his pursuit of Mr. Crawford because it was blind and unjust. I say what is

the fact when I affirm that men come to me almost as by an instinct when they think they have been wronged. I cannot strict my eyes to this nor is there any reason why I should. They know that if I am convinced that they have been wronged that I shall certainly try to help them and not readily get tired in their behalf.

A Bombay journalist thus writes on Knight's conduct of the *Times of India* :—

In the conduct of the *Times of India*, the combination of three Bombay dailies, Mr. Knight enlisted the best talent available for the purpose. It should be no breach of confidence, we believe, to mention that men like Sir Alexander Grant, then Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, the late Sir Michael Westropp, the Hon'ble Walter R. Cassels, an eminent merchant and a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, Sir George (then Dr.) Birdwood, Sir Raymond West and others were among the chief contributors to the paper. In the conduct of it, however, Mr. Knight found a powerful opponent in Mr. J. M. Maclean, afterwards a member of Parliament. He had come out to Bombay to edit the *Bombay Gazette* under a covenant with Mr. John Cannon, its proprietor ; and having severed his connection with that paper, he started a weekly newspaper known as the *Bombay Saturday Review*, in which the weak points of Mr. Knight's writings were passionately, though ably; controverted and ridiculed. Mr. Maclean had also secured an able staff of contributors for his weekly paper ; and the public questions of the day were discussed in the rival journals with unusual ability.

Mr. Knight's editorship of the *Times of India* was marked by great energy and independence, and his financial ability, shown in times when the entire financial policy and position of the country were being re-adjusted, after the terrible strain and drain of the Mutiny, by experts like Wilson and Laing, gave the paper a distinctive character, and its criticisms on matters of imperial finance and taxation were highly valued. Several pamphlets which Mr. Knight wrote under the pseudonym of TIMES OF INDIA based on his articles in that paper, still attest his great knowledge of Indian questions.

About those who helped him in the editorial conduct of the *Times of India*, Knight in his memoir thus wrote :—

In the *Times of India* I had the Registrar of the Bombay High Court afterwards the Hon'ble Justice Raymond West I.C.S., M.A., F.R.G.S., and Sir Alexander Grant both on the staff upon a regular monthly salary,

and my collaborateurs consisted largely of official men, and Government looked with nothing but favour on their writings. In 1863 Mr. (Thomas Chisholm) Anstey moved the Bombay High Court to commit me for contempt of Court for an article written in my journal, the *Times of India*, by Mr. Tucker late of the Bombay Council. Then Government did not forbid its servants to contribute articles to the Indian Press.

Knight, as editor of the *Times of India*, charged the Indian Press of Bombay in January 1867, with being under the influence of Europeans. The *Native Opinion* protested against this charge, and so did the *Indu Prakash*. After nearly eleven months Knight sent, in January, 1868, an apology to the *Native Opinion* in which he wrote:—

Pray accept this late expression of my regret that I should have unwittingly sinned against your order and seemed indifferent to its reputation, after the opportunity given by your articles in question to set myself right with a body of men whom I have so much cause to respect.

(*To be continued*)

S. C. SANIAL

Reviews

Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, by P'u Sung-ling, Translated by Herbert A. Giles; 2nd edition, 488 pp. New York: Boni and Liverioght, \$3.00.

Synbad the Sailor, in all his journeyings, had no more marvellous experiences than those revealed in this new and delightfully bound edition of Professor Giles' *Strange Stories*. These consist of translations of one hundred and sixty-four stories of the supernatural, many of them so-called "fox stories," taken from the collection of *CLiao Chai hi* I (Strange Records from the Liao Library), by P'u Sung-ling and dating back to the middle of the seventeenth century when that famous scholar lived and wrote.

The tales, as their Chinese name implies, are stories of the supernatural, widely believed in by the Chinese of that day, and to a large extent, even now. According to the Buddhist teachings in China, there is in this world always a fixed amount of life existent, which amount can neither increase nor diminish—the indestructibility of life. It is, however, recognized that the form which life may take is unfixed. Now every person alive, and every animal and every spirit, is existent in its present condition due to acts and behaviour during a previous existence; and every one, by his actions in his present existence, is determining the form he will take in his next reincarnation, whether as man, brute, beast or devil.

Among the various powers possessed by certain disembodied spirits of the nether world, is that of assuming at will the form of fox or of man. Rather, such beings are known as foxes, and their power is that of entering the body of a human being.

Naturally, it is the object of everyone to avoid becoming so possessed, for the results are almost sure to be evil, and a great many of the *Strange Stories* are devoted to the experiences of human beings with foxes, and with the supernatural in general. As stated by P'u Sung-ling in his own preface to the collection, "I get people to commit what they tell me to writing, and, subsequently, I dress it up in the form of a story." Therefore he can, in a way, actually vouch for the veracity of the tales he relates, and in several cases the stories as related, miraculous though they may seem, were actually witnessed by P'u himself.

There is, by and large, a certain sameness to most of the stories which in many cases leads one to divine the outcome. Practically all the tales

carry a moral, generally implied, and not a few are the author's thinly veiled attacks of the official life of the day. In their descriptions, therefore, they form an excellent source of detailed information of the life and customs of China three hundred years ago. The translator's copious and very excellent footnotes not only elucidate such points as would otherwise remain confusing, but in themselves form a very detailed and interesting source of information on life and customs in the interior of China even to-day.

In one of these curious tales there is a harrowing description of the punishments meted out to a certain unfortunate culprit in his passage through the Chinese Inferno. After a long boiling in a cauldron of oil, and subsequently being forced to swallow in molten silver and gold the equivalent of all his peccancy on earth, the unfortunate culprit is condemned to the unspeakable misery of being born again on earth in the shape of a girl. The Chinese hell, with all its chambers of horrors, could apparently devise no greater punishment.

In the appendix to *Strange Stories* Professor Giles includes a translation of the Taoist *Yu Li Ch'ao Chuan*, which is a full description of the ten courts of purgatory. Throughout, the book forms very entertaining reading and is, undeniably, one of the best insights into Chinese folklore available in English.

H. M. BRATTER

Life of Sri Ramkrishna, compiled from various authentic sources : published by Swami Madhavananda, Advaita Ashram, Mayavati, Almora; pp. iv+765, with a Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Price board Rs. 5, cloth Rs. 6-8.

The aim of the book is to provide the English-reading public with a short but comprehensive account of the life of Sri Ramkrishna. In delineating this life-history, the author has availed himself of all authentic sources of information. Thus the work contains the essential facts of all the authoritative books extant on the subject, with some additional matters. The author has purposely omitted expositions of some abstruse points relating to Sri Ramkrishna's life and teachings, as being too philosophical for the ordinary reader. The get-up of the book is good.

The personality and message of the Paramahansa are well-known not only in India, but throughout the whole world. His plain and sweet teachings

attracted the attention of Max Müller, and he rendered some of them into English. His disciples Swami Vivekananda and others have done yeoman's service in holding up Ramkrishna before the gaze of the whole world. His divine love inspired many. His living faith gave solace to thousands of men and women who longed for light: Mahatma Gandhi has truly said :—

"The story of Ramkrishna Paramahansa's life is a story of religion in practice. His life enables us to see God face to face. No one can read the story of his life without being convinced that, God alone is real, and that all else is an illusion. Ramkrishna was a living embodiment of godliness. His sayings are not those of a mere learned man, but they are pages from the Book of Life. They are revelations of his own experiences."

Ramkrishna's teachings are of universal import. They have no narrowness about them. He views most of the living faiths of the world as so many paths leading to God. Some of these paths are straight, others meandering. Nevertheless, if truly followed, they may lead us to the Highest. As the Geeta puts it: "However men approached me, even so do I welcome them, for the path men take from every side is Mine, O Partha." (Ch. IV, 2, Dr. Besant's translation.) This is true Hinduism of the Rishis. It has no narrowness or proselytising spirit about it. Had the world followed such catholic teachings, we could hardly have heard such foolish talk, as conversion of Mahatma Gandhi to Islam.

Generally speaking, western scholars are of opinion that thought is the essence of man. There is nothing higher than thought. It is thought which distinguishes human beings from lower animals. By thought we have attained much success in the field of positive sciences. There is no earthly reason why, by thought, we shall fail to attain success in the spiritual plane as well. Sciences supply materials for thinking, and by thinking we attain the highest possible results. The more knowledge we gain of the external world and its sciences, the more we advance towards self-realisation. In short, if God is at all knowable, He must be knowable by means of thought. But the life of Ramkrishna is a downright protest against reasoning of this kind. He could hardly read or write. He neither read the material sciences nor bestowed any thinking on the results attained by them. On the other hand, like tortoise, he withdrew all his limbs and bestowed all attention upon the inner world. Like a child, he prayed to his Divine Mother for revealing to him Her true nature, and in Her own time She revealed Herself. He saw Her, touched Her, and talked with Her.

He used to say that, whatever knowledge he had, he had from his Divine Mother. Whatever powers he attained, he attained not by means of thinking, but by means of Yoga,—by concentrating his attention upon the inner world. Indeed, his life proves that we can pass beyond the external show, and know the thing-in-itself. The so-called illiterate Ramkrishna is indeed a wonder of the whole world.

Ramkrishna was undoubtedly a super-man or Mahapurusha. Every thing about him was natural and unassuming. His child-like simplicity, his untiring devotion, his God-vision and ecstasy, all called forth universal admiration. It was pleasing to have a sight of his samādhi. No one could but regard it as a genuine state, as a state when he was having true communion with the living God. In this material age, Ramkrishna's life and teachings will lead many a traveller to the right path.

The author has done an invaluable service by bringing together most of the materials of his life, and by giving them a shape, simple, easy and unvarnished. We can safely commend this book to the notice of all English-knowing readers.

ABHAYAKUMAR GUHA

The Indian Constitution and its Actual Working, by D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Lecturer in Economics and Politics, University of Dacca, formerly Professor of Economics, Dacca College; with a Foreword by Sir Evan Cotton; Longmans, Green & Co., pp. 485.

Mr. Banerjee's book is the latest work on the subject of the existing Indian Constitution. The book is primarily intended for University students taking up the study of Indian Constitution. In the course of 25 chapters into which the book is divided Mr. Banerjee has attempted to describe the existing Indian Constitution and its working from the critical, comparative and historical standpoint. Throughout the book he has adopted the cold, critical and unbiassed attitude of the scientific enquirer. This attitude however has not prevented Mr. Banerjee from expressing his own opinion on recent controversial matters very much in prominence before the public eye. He has pointed out the numerous anomalies which go to make the existing constitution a half way house between undiluted autocracy and full-fledged democracy, *e.g.*, the appointment of the President of the Council of State by the Governor-General, the control of the Secretary of State over the transferred subjects, etc.

The value of the work has been considerably heightened by the comparisons which the author has instituted between the constitution of India and those of the Dominions. This handy but all embracing work is well worth the labour spent on it for the benefit of our students.

J. P. N.

Wealth, Beauty and Youth, by J. T. Sunderland, published by Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

In these days appraisement goes by the material standard. Mr. Sunderland proposes to effect a change for the better by directing our attention to pure gold, and not to mere dross which may be gold only in semblance. All of us hanker after true wealth, beauty and youth; how to succeed in our endeavour has been the theme of the author of this volume. Written in a simple and vigorous style, the book is calculated to rouse a healthy sentiment in the reader, and there are apposite passages from excellent poems which greatly enhance its value. It might be profitably placed in the hands of young and old alike, but it has a special message for the adolescent reader, who is a growing animal. The book is a landmark to show our advance from Smiles to whom we had been accustomed in our generation. How time flies!

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Sādhana-māla, Vol. I.—Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXVI;—Edited by Babu Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., General Editor;—Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda;—pp. XXIV + 342; price Rs. 5.

There is no need to introduce the reader to the Buddhistic Tantras. This comprehensive work falls within the list of these Tantras,—and consists of a heterogenous collection of Sādhana's or "rituals for worshipping different deities." The present volume is only the first portion of such a huge collection edited with a short preface, contents, text (in Sanskrit) and variants. The fuller introduction, as we are informed, will appear in the second volume and will give full details of the work and of the Vajrayāna System of Buddhist Philosophy.

The book, as we have already mentioned, seems to be a heterogenous collection of Sādhana's, composed by different authors of different ages, and grouped together by one person without adhering to any definite plan. So it is hazardous to venture to ascertain the date of the work.

The work is evidently in Sanskrit but—it is not the pure classical Sanskrit of the poets of old. It is the mixed Sanskrit of the Buddhists—similar to that used in *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu* *Avadāna*, etc.

A very vivid picture is thrown, in these 170 *Sādhana*s, on one section of the Buddhist society,—that had already introduced within itself the prohibited intricacies of idolworship. It further gives an insight into the development of the *Vajrayāna* system of Buddhist philosophy which is so little known to the Oriental scholars dealing with Buddhism.

The book, though written in a simple style, is not easily intelligible to all, owing to the peculiar language used in it. We expect that the learned Editor will attach a comprehensive glossary at the end, which will clear up all difficulties in the text. Our heartiest thanks are also due to the publishers for the high class printing and exquisite get-up of the volume,

P. S.

Mānasollāsa,—Vol. I.;—Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXVIII;—Edited by Gajanan K. Shrigondekar, M.A., Sanskrit Librarian, Central Library, Baroda;—Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Pp. xviii+146. Price Rs. 2/8 as.

This is only the first part of a voluminous work *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*, edited in Sanskrit with a short introduction and variants only. The original work contains 8,000 *granthas* divided into 5 *viṃśatis*, each *viṃśati* in its turn containing 20 *adhyāyas* or chapters of unequal length. The present volume represents only the first two of the five *viṃśatis*.

The work is attributed to the celebrated *Cālukya* King *Someśvara*, surnamed *Bhūlokamalla* and *Satyāśrayakulatilaka*, son of *Vikramāditya* VI. It thus seems to go back to the 12th century of the Christian era.

The first forty chapters that have already been published contain no less than 1,608 verses, almost all of them being in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, and occasional prose passages occurring at intervals. "The work," to quote the words of the Editor, "treats of many subjects and gives the maximum information in minimum space." To be brief we can unhesitatingly designate it as the true *Encyclopædia* of the Sanskrit language; and in fact our author calls it the "जगदाचार्यपुस्तकः"—a work which claims to be the teacher of the world.

The get-up of the volume is good. The only thing that seems to be wanting is a fuller introduction giving a detailed summary of each of the chapters, supplemented by occasional explanatory notes where necessary; and we hope that the learned Editor will remove this want in one of the forthcoming volumes.

P. S.

Lekhapaddhati:—Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XIX ;—Edited by the late C. D. Dalal, M.A., with preface, notes and glossary by G. K. Shrigondekar, M.A.;—Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda ;—pp. xii + 130 ;—Price Rs. 2.

This unique work has been edited very ably by the second Editor with an interesting preface, five Appendices, a list of important persons, a list of prominent places and a full Anglo-sanskrit glossary extending over 32 pages. It contains numerous original specimens of all kinds of letters, deeds and documents in Sanskrit, and also quotations from the classical authors. It contains also many vernacular words and phrases, most of which are now obsolete.

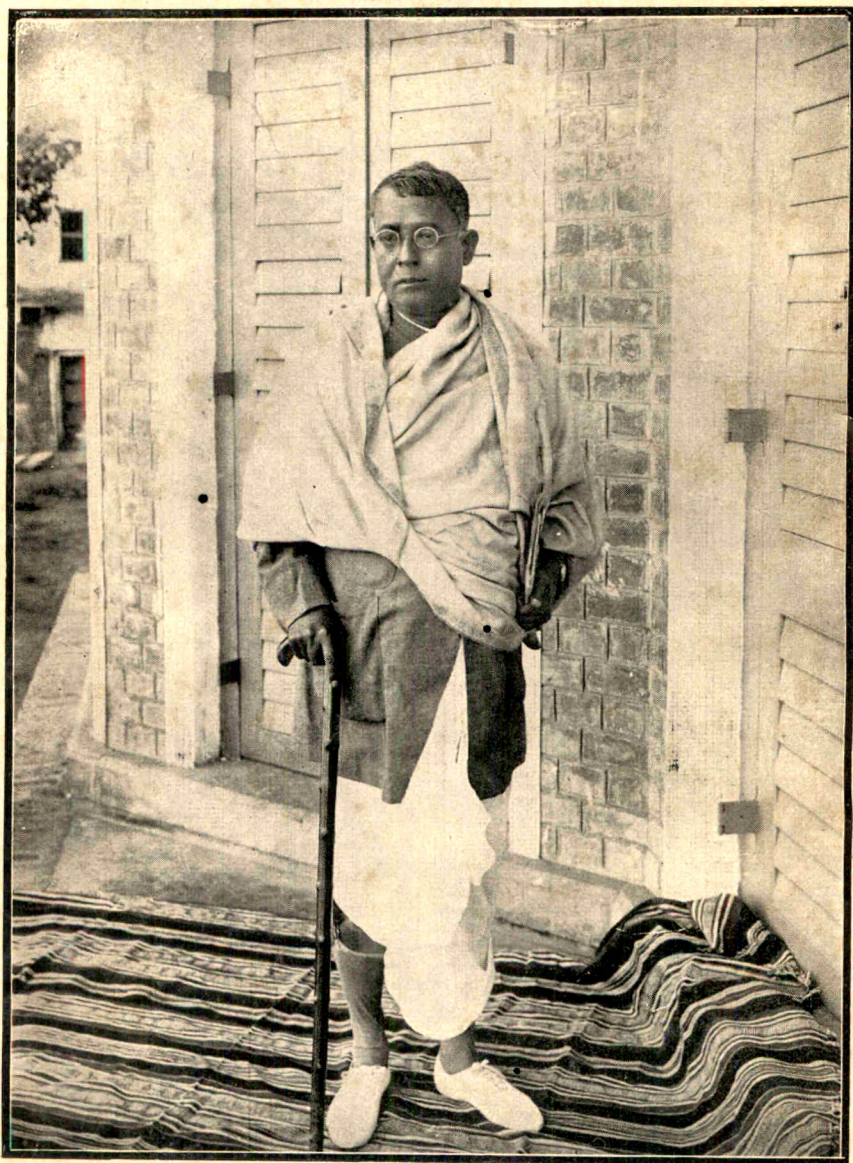
We learn from the preface that in order to ascertain the meaning of these obsolete words, the learned second Editor had to travel over districts and to mix freely with the villagers. Thanks to his untiring zeal, we have at last been presented with a fairly good glossary which clears up the meaning of most of these terms that have hitherto baffled the endeavours of many an erudite scholar to elucidate.

The work may be, in short, designated as "Specimen Sanskrit Letters, etc.,—from the 8th to the 15th century A. D.," most of the 'lekhas' being written in the 'Mixed Sanskrit' of the 15th century. It purports to be not only a mere "philological curiosity," but also a smaller handbook to the study of the history of medieval Gujrat.

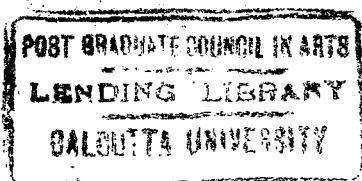
One word more. Like other works on letter-writing (in other languages), it is by no means a dry work, but is interspersed with humorous touches not of a very low order. This has really added to the importance of the book.

The printing and get-up of the volume is all that we can desire. We hope that the Editor will delight us by publishing other interesting works of the same type which are so rare in Sanskrit.

P. S.



KAVIRAJ JAMINI BHUSAN RAY



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1926



JOURNALISM IN INDIA¹

Journalism in India, Gentlemen, derives from journalism in England, and in spite of faults and shortcomings is a credit to the parent stock. *Patris est filius*, more especially in maintaining the most cherished English tradition that it is the duty of the political journalist to publish his opinions even at the risk of fine and imprisonment; there is also another strong family resemblance in making the leading article a potent factor in shaping public opinion. In any historical sketch of the newspaper press in India, such as my lectures must necessarily amount to, this cardinal fact should inform both narrative and criticism. True though it be that even the most widely read newspapers in this country cannot pretend to anything like the circulation of the great London or English provincial papers, it would be silly affectation to pretend that the influence they wield is inconsiderable, even in this paradise of bureaucratic authority, the gates of which are opening slowly and reluctantly to an eager but fluttering democracy, still uncertain of its foothold.

The real development of the art and business of journalism, as it is understood in the West, dates in India from the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. There were generals before Agamemnon, and there were editors before

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Surendra Nath Banerjea ; but the influence of the Press on the administration of the country and the political education of the intelligentsia made itself felt with ever increasing force from that epochal event in which I participated in the humble capacity of a descriptive reporter. The papers which were native and racy of the soil gained a new importance ; whereas those edited and owned by Englishmen, who voiced the views of the British Raj and the British Plantation, were compelled to a new orientation. In India a great journalist is in nine cases out of ten also a great publicist, and this identicalness will probably endure for many years to come. In the circumstance it was inevitable that Indian journalism should become the hand-maiden, nay something more, of Indian Nationalism, while the Outlander press, if I may be allowed the term for its expressiveness and historic associations, had perforce to accept the role of *Defensor Fidei*. Well, Gentlemen, I think I can claim without a suspicion of vainglory to be a product of that renaissance, for my career as a journalist began in Bombay just two years before the first Indian National Congress, at the tail-end of an era in which the only politics discussed by the bulk of newspapers in India were English politics, with the Irish Question as *piece de resistance*, and the Russian Invasion of the North-Western Frontier an inexhaustible beaker of heady wine. There was an editor I knew in those days, an Irishman by the same token, who boasted that out of three hundred leaders he had written in a single year no less than two hundred were fulminations against the Muscovite Terror. He honestly believed they had made the Bear tremble and pause. The proceedings of the National Congress gave editors, British and Indian, topics more germane to dwell upon, and in this re-adjustment of bearings lay the germs of the striking growth of the last forty years which I propose to sketch to the best of my ability if you will bear with me. A ribald critic of

the Celtic Irish has stated in a recently published monograph on Parnell, that "it is only in journalism that the Celtic Irish achieve distinction, for journalism is primarily a matter of gossip and the Celtic Irish can talk well." I belong to the race so contemptuously dismissed, but if I can justify even this partial and not quite honest *ipse dixit* in my address to you, I will forgive St. John Irvine his Orange bigotry and narrow vision.

In order to illustrate the advance made in journalism in India in the last forty years I cannot do better than to sketch its condition when I enlisted as a private in the ranks. On 15th October, 1883, a date of blessed memory—a capital feast in my life's calendar—I joined "The Times of India" as an apprentice. I had no journalistic training or experience behind me; so that my only equipment was a good education, a stout heart, buoyant youth, and perhaps that flair of the Celtic Irish to which I have already referred; but I was lucky in my choice; for "The Times" was then as now a leading Anglo-Indian daily which maintained a high tradition of literary achievement of the utmost value to a neophyte who regarded his profession as a profession and not as a trade. It was a tradition established by Dr. George Buist, a Scotch scholar and scientist of eminence, and consolidated by Colonel Nassau Lees, a famous Orientalist, whose memory is still green and sweet with the Moslem literati of Bengal. The latter was sole proprietor when I joined the staff; in fact it was he who recruited me. Although at that time he had definitely retired from India and lived in England he still kept a hold on the policy and conduct of the paper; to his example and bent was due a scholarly elan which distinguished "The Times of India" among the dailies of the country. Henry Curwen was editor from 1880 to his death in 1892. I was under his influence during the whole of my apprenticeship of five years, and as it was exerted with tutorial directness and solicitude it powerfully affected my

conception of the whole duty of a journalist. From the start he impressed on me the futility of literary toil unless my aim was a complete mastery of my profession. "Journalism," he would say, "is a severe and a jealous mistress, who will not brook a rival in any shape or form. You must give to her your days and nights and the best that is in you. Her reward will not be material wealth but the supreme joy of a great duty well done."

Curwen was a poet before he became a journalist. He was related distantly to William Wordsworth, the Lake poet *par excellence*. Before coming to India he published under the title of "Sorrow and Song" a book of sympathetic studies of the literary struggles of some famous poets. The poetic imagination never left him in all his years of practical journalism, but instead of handicapping his progress it assisted his success, for when he died the paper he had edited and partly owned was securely founded in a position in which it favourably compared with so important an English provincial paper as "The Manchester Guardian." In the midst of his editorial and proprietorial turmoil he found relaxation in the writing of three novels of a romantic character which appeared week after week in serial form, adding not a little to the popularity of the paper.

With all his romance and mysticism, however, Curwen was true to type in business. He was a representative of the British Plantation with very little use for Indian political aspirations. Lord Reay, the advanced Dutchman, who governed the Bombay Presidency from 1885 to 1890, was Curwen's *bête noire*. The editor could see nothing good in the Gladstonian who gave to the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay a liberal constitution which for long years was the envy of every other city in India. He concentrated in a farewell leader the bitterness of soul which for five weary years had been nursed by the British Plantation against the statesman who was among the earliest of the foreign satraps

to perceive and admit that, in the famous phrase of Parnell, it was not possible to put bounds to the march of a nation, and in accordance with this conviction to give reality to Lord Ripon's solemn promise of self-government. The Parthian outburst of sustained vituperation was clever but dishonest, yet it so accurately interpreted the feelings of the dominant race that the full text was cabled to London by Reuter and reproduced by "The Times" and other organs of English opinion. Curwen died less than two years later without retracting a single article of the faith so patristically expressed. He left it to his successor as his last will and testament. Such is the irony of things that that successor proved to be Thomas Jewell Bennett who had hitherto been the right-hand man of Grattan Geary, editor and proprietor of "The Bombay Gazette," the gallant champion of Lord Reay's policy. Curwen had detected with unerring instinct the Marian strain in the young man from Bristol who before joining Geary had won his spurs by leader-writing for "The Standard," the London Conservative organ.

But Lord Reay did not monopolize all the antipathy of the editor of "The Times of India" and the constituency he represented; a very large share was reserved for Gladstone after he had committed himself to the principle of Home Rule for Ireland. Parnell was a dirty dog, odious and infamous. I myself got into sad disgrace on the night that Reuter announced the results of the General Election of 1885 at which 86 Irish Nationalists were returned under the leadership of the Squire of Avondale, the "Uncrowned King of Ireland." I was living at a hotel whose proprietress was Irish but whose customers were mostly military officers and Government officials. I rushed into the dining-room where the company was assembled at dinner and proclaimed the glad tidings. There was an ominous silence, broken after a few tense moments by the vicious snarl of a Senior Civilian :

"You want a few more Phoenix Park murders I suppose." I became a social pariah from that night out.

Grattan Geary, who owned and edited "The Bombay Gazette," was an Irishman and a Home Ruler at heart, but he had to be very circumspect in his comments on the burning question of the hour. His tepidity was exasperating and it was vain; it did not save him from the hatred and malice of European Society which would not allow him, although he was President of the Bombay Corporation, to present the address of welcome to Prince Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence, at the landing at the Apollo Bunder, the Gateway of India, in 1890. He had, it was dishonestly alleged, shown sympathy with the Fenians, which was enough to damn him in the eyes of every British patriot.

There was no Indian-edited English daily at Bombay in those far off days, but Malabari published as a weekly, "The Indian Spectator," which in excellent English took an Indian survey of men and matters. His views on female education among Indians were received with respect, but in matters of general policy he did not count for much. Effective journalism was practically confined to "The Times of India" and "The Bombay Gazette" until the Guzeratee dailies, "The Bombay Samachar" and "The Jam-e-Jamshed" challenged the monopoly. Their attacks were so insistent and well-directed that their English rivals thought it wise to retain Parsee reporters to translate elegant extracts. In Calcutta and at Madras, Indian journalism employing the medium of the English language made an earlier start, and at the time of my narrative "The Hindu Patriot," "The Indian Mirror," "The Bengalee" and "The Hindu" had already won their spurs and become antagonists to be reckoned with by the Bureaucracy and its supporters.

After this historical divagation I will, with your permission, hark back to the domestic economy of the typical newspaper which made a real appeal to the general reader.

forty years ago. The literary staff of "The Times of India" consisted of an Editor, an Assistant Editor, a Sub-Editor, a Chief Reporter (all imported from England), and four reporters recruited locally, two of whom were Parsees. The menage of "The Bombay Gazette" was similar. I was an extra—an experiment with no counterpart in the rival shop. There was a nondescript mob of press-readers of all sorts and conditions, the same as we see to-day even in the most elaborately equipped newspaper offices. The indifference of the average newspaper proprietor to the quality of the proof correctors is a puzzle of Indian journalism. Any old has-been or down-at-heels is good enough for the job provided he has sufficient English to pass proofs so as to drive the unfortunate sub-editor to distraction. In most offices, yea even in this year of grace, the sub-editor is also the chief reader, and one of his most trying duties is to make sense out of the "clean proofs" (save the mark!) served up by half-educated men whose wages are so lean that they have to live on the smell of an oil-rag and thus become the recognised tramps of the newspaper world. Strange as it may tell to posterity, the trial of the sub-editor has become heavier since the introduction of type-setting machinery.

The average Indian compositor of the Old Law understood little, in most cases nothing, of the sense of the copy he was hand-setting, but he was wonderfully accurate in his combination of types to print a word he had deciphered with uncanny wizardry. I have had a first proof at three o'clock in the morning, just before going to press, of copy given to the compositor half-an-hour before, which contained hardly a mistake, literal or grammatical. It was an extreme case I admit, the compositor in question being a rare star of the first magnitude; but it is no exaggeration that the general run of Indian compositors, in the days before the advent of the linotype, formed a Milky Way of glittering gems before whose magnificence the lino-operators of to-day pale their

insignificant fires. Few of the old brigade are left, and soon the species will be as extinct as the dodo. When I remember how their talent and conscientiousness made amends for the incurable vices of the vagrom readers I regret the passing with a personal sorrow.

Rotary presses were unknown in India in the Eighties; there was therefore less haste in getting the paper ready for the press but more leisure to attend to its literary content. When an outstanding public man made an important speech late in the evening or after dinner on a subject that was keenly agitating the public mind, the reporters did not spoil the effect by rushing a garbled summary into the composing room to be set up for the next morning's paper; they had the good sense to agree to print just a short note announcing the delivery and value of the speech with a promise of a full report on the following day. The practice had advantages which to my mind are not counterbalanced by the modern method in which fulness and accuracy are often sacrificed to speed of publication. At any rate the author of the speech was flattered and the public who looked up to him for light and leading was satisfied that the newspapers had given him a fair chance. *Agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ*. I am sadly conscious that it were vain to attempt to restore the early dispensation, but when one compares the summary of a great debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Reforms or the Bengal Ordinance given by his pet daily paper the morning after the event with the official report appearing a fortnight later, he is prone to sigh for the days when editors thought less of what the Americans expressively call a "hunch," and more of a fair deal to all parties in the disputation.

During the years of my apprenticeship the proceedings of the Bombay Corporation were carefully reported in both English dailies, specially qualified reporters being put on the job. They were not hurried; a 24 hours' delay in the appearance of their scrip made no difference to the editor or

his clientele ; the consequence—a true and unbiassed account of what had really taken place. By this means the press materially assisted the municipal reforms for which the citizens clamoured ; further it encouraged that high sense of civism for which Bombay has been distinguished throughout the ages. Both Curwen and Grattan Geary exacted from their reporters an equipment which would, in these degenerate times, be considered unconscionable for the wages paid ; and wages were much lower then. Although the purchasing power of the rupee was greater in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century than in the first quarter of the Twentieth, newspaper-men in India forty years ago could boast with Sydney Smith that their motto was : *Tenui musam meditamur avera*—“ We cultivate literature upon a little *dal bhat*.” Ability to take a verbatim shorthand note was *sine qua non* even in the most junior member of the staff, and the latest recruit was allowed six months to qualify. I hated the mechanical drudgery of shorthand, but there was no help for it. I had to devote to the acquirement of a speed equal to the swift torrential eloquence of Pheroze Shah Mehta laborious days and nights in which I could have learnt, colloquially at any rate, four of the chief Indian vernaculars. Public meetings were always well reported in the Bombay papers in those days, so also cases in the High Court. In addition to this the papers alternately provided the official reporters of the proceedings of the Legislative Council. As any member of the reporting staff might be called upon at any moment to perform any of the duties I have enumerated you will easily understand how essential and logical was the editorial exaction. I laid the balm to my tortured soul that I derived much good from the severe mental discipline, but I can honestly say that my memory was ever quicker than my fingers and far more reliable. Soon after my apprenticeship was over I blossomed into an editor, and I immediately made a joyous bonfire of

my shorthand note-books. On the other hand many a contemporary gloried in his manual dexterity to the end of the chapter, and who am I to say that his was not the greater distinction.

In lines other than verbatim note-taking reporters were encouraged to specialise. Politics were above their sphere and beyond an editorial note on some law suit or public meeting they were not expected to ruffle the tenor of the leader page. That was the mysterious demesne of the Editor and the Assistant Editor, helped by regular and irregular contributors who belonged mostly to the Indian Education Service, with odd Indian Civil Servants and Military Officers thrown in. The idea of an Associated Press had not then been conceived so there were many openings for Special Correspondence, the editors being liberal in that direction. I was fortunate to develop a faculty of writing popularly on sports of all kinds, and in the last three years of my connection with "The Times of India" I travelled the length and breadth of the country describing race meetings, pig-sticks, and polo tournaments, yet these were not all the ingredients of my *olla podrida*. The writer of the article on newspapers in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica mourns the passing from English journalism of the old-time war correspondents like William Russell and Archibald Forbes; with equal justification I mourn the passing from Indian journalism of special correspondents like Kipling, Rattray, Arnold Wright, and most brilliant of all, poor Frank White. The Associated Press does not, perhaps cannot, make good the deficiency, and the newspapers have lost in consequence a lustre which made them attractive to men of education and taste.

I have mentioned the association of the Indian Education Service with journalism. At Bombay it was intimate. The Elphinstone College, the counterpart of the Presidency College in Calcutta, was the workshop in which were forged

countless leaders that appeared in "The Times of India" and "The Bombay Gazette," each of which had its partisans. Professors Wordsworth and Forrest affected the conservative organ; Professors Kirkham and Oxenham its liberal rival. It is eternally true that no man of action can be so consistently and cynically an advocate of brutalism as your man of letters, and the writers I have named in no way belied this characteristic when their blood was roused to fulminations *ex-cathedra*, the splendour of which dazzled the professional journalist and left him lamenting his own incompetence. But on the whole this "Educational" connection was to the good; it imparted to the columns given to the guidance of public opinion a literary excellence and a sense of history and logic which are certainly not salient qualities of the commercialised journalism of to-day. We used to race for sport in the eighties and early nineties; the horses were our pride and skilful horsemanship our consuming desire. They race for big stakes nowadays and the horses are mere pawns in a corrupt and debasing gambling game. Commercialisation again! It has entered every department of life. Journalism in India could no more resist the invasion than journalism in England or elsewhere in the British Empire, for it had to be recognised that the modern newspaper depended for its financial success primarily upon its receipts from advertisements; and blatant puffing, however crude in expression, is dearer to the advertiser's heart than grace of style.

The first signal triumph of the Indian National Congress was the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the first election under which was held in the following year. This Act enfranchised some recognised public bodies and constituencies, and gave the members of the Supreme and Local Legislative Councils the right to put questions to Government on matters of administration; also the right to discuss the annual budget. It is significant of the slow and toilsome march of democracy in India that no advance on this restricted measure of Home

Rule was made until the Minto-Morley Reforms came into force fifteen years after. But such as it was the Lansdowne Act was a white stone in the progress of journalism which has since proceeded *pari passu* with the expansion of political freedom. The debates in the central legislature acquired a new zest for the leading newspapers of India which had consequently to be enlarged and produced at a heavier cost. The day of the modern manager had dawned and he has never looked back. In a great newspaper published not a thousand miles from College Square the actual concrete manager is a far bigger man than the misty editor in his many and embarrassing manifestations. Until nearly the last year of the Nineteenth Century the editor was supreme, but now, when editorial possibilities depend on financial resources, the manager who owes allegiance to the advertisers is apt to call the tune. Like the rest of us I have had to move with the times and bow the knee to Mammon, nevertheless I look back with pride to the days of my apprenticeship when our inspiration and incentive sprang from the thought so beautifully expressed by Rudyard Kipling :—

When only the Master shall praise us, and only the Master shall blame;
And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame;
But each for the joy of working, and each in his separate star,
Shall draw the Thing as he sees it, for the God of Things as They Are.

The Lansdowne Act, you will allow me to so call it for the sake of brevity, fundamentally affected the Indian-edited Press by a decomposition of primitive ideas and caused a clearer appreciation of values not only among Indian publicists but among their critics also, more especially the Bureaucracy which had now to "sit up and take notice" as the common phrase goes. A Press Act of the Lytton pattern was no longer feasible, and the right of interpellation by members of the Legislative Councils encouraged Indian editors openly to assume the mantle of Elijah and whip with scorpions a

Government whose policy they denounced as unsympathetic and coercive. I had to wait until 1897, when I finally migrated from Bombay to Calcutta for keeps, to get into intimate touch with Indian journalists who employed the English language as the vehicle of aspiration and polemic. Bombay sported no important daily edited by an Indian in the national interest. Soon after the birth of the Congress, Pherozechah Mehta, Thomas Blaney and other liberal-minded citizens assisted the foundation of an evening paper called "The Advocate of India," which promised to become the organ of the Congress party, a promise never fulfilled for reasons it is unnecessary to enumerate at this distance of time. At the instance of Jehanghir Murzban, who had become its sole proprietor, I took the editorship in 1892. Its fortunes were at the lowest ebb, and as an organ of political opinion it counted for nothing. The only one of the original promoters who took any interest in it was Thomas Blaney who wrote unceasingly on municipal affairs, reproducing and emphasizing the *ipse dixit* he had already let off at the two weekly meetings of the Bombay Corporation of which he was a prominent and influential member. His views on hygiene, water-supply, and civism generally were sound, and such were his services to the city that a grateful community after his death commemorated him by a statue erected in front of the municipal buildings. He could write good plain terse Anglo-Saxon, but his knowledge of polite literature was sadly to seek, and for this ignorance I was more than once the butt of a rival's satire. I had a small and limited staff: myself, and two reporters who covered the police and the law courts. It was difficult in the circumstances to be meticulous in the work of redaction. The humour of the situation was thrilling when, as on one occasion, I rescued my poor reputation from the very brink of the precipice. Communal riots had broken out between Hindus and Mahomedans, and as there had been much bloodshed the city was placed under martial law. The

opportunity for an evening paper to snatch a scoop was too good to be lost, so for the nonce I deserted the editorial sanctum (spare the pieces!) for reporting adventure, leaving the busy proprietor, who had other things to think about and manage, to send in the leaders for the day. I got back from the stricken field somewhat late one afternoon to find that the leader page had been set up and was waiting only for the press order. Having been through some stirring scenes during the day I was in a fine frenzy to rush my impressions into copy, but thank my lucky stars I controlled my impatience to glance through the first leader in which Blaney made a scornful attack on "The Pioneer" for daring to sneer at his beloved Corporation. "The Pi" had the impudence to say that a certain debate, in which Blaney took part, reminded it of the famous colloquy in which Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek participated to the mirth of all the world for all time. "Who cares a hang," exclaimed the irate Blaney, "for the opinions of two obscure knights, probably *apke-waste wallahs* who got their titles for sitting on the steps of Government House." This sort of thing was hilariously exciting but it was not business, and soon Blaney ceased to write for "The Advocate" owing, he averred, to my professional jealousy which prompted me either to reject his articles or to make a hash of them. I was sorry to lose his co-operation, and I have no doubt many missed his preachments on the ideals of civism; but then, as now, to adapt the famous apothegm of Gladstone, the press in India was the privilege of the educated classes not the patrimony of the people, and an editor who valued the reputation of his paper had to be careful of the character of its literary contents.

To popularise "The Advocate of India" and increase its circulation, which was decidedly tenuous, I made a strong feature of sport, and as the town had gone nearly mad over cricket, especially over the international matches between the Europeans and the Parsees, my brain-wave carried me on its

crest to unexpected success. On the other hand, I catered for the more intellectual of my readers by writing twice a week a humorous skit on the meetings of the Corporation; but *haute politique* I neglected almost entirely. The National Congress doctrines had no direct representation in the daily papers of Bombay which were printed in English; Indian national aspirations, however, were lucidly expounded and trenchantly defended by Dinshaw Wacha in the English section of the Guzeratee weekly, "Kaiser-i-Hind." "The Indian Spectator" was a law unto itself. Malabari was amenable to no discipline but that self-imposed and he was utterly contemptuous of a party badge.

When I came to Calcutta in the fall of 1897 to join "The Indian Daily News" of happy memory, I discovered a hive of newspaper industry of the existence of which I had hitherto been ignorant. Not only were newspapers more numerous than at Bombay, but the field covered was far more extensive. Both Anglo-Indian and Indian interests were fittingly represented, and there was a strong weekly press, social, political, and technical, such as did not exist in any other town in India. "The Englishman," was admittedly the leading Anglo-Indian paper with probably the largest, but certainly "the most influential" circulation in Bengal. It sturdily proclaimed without reservation the sentiments of ~~the Europeans to whom Lord Ripon was the Devil incarnate.~~ Its style was downright ~~what~~ the poet Blake might have called "naked beauty displayed"—exactly what its clientele demanded. It was still in the sole possession of the Saunders family, and the most able of the "J.O.B.'s" rode in the whirlwind and directed the storm. His editor, Macdonald, was a man after his own heart. "The Englishman" was the first newspaper in Calcutta to instal linotypes in the printing room, but never at any time did its technique approach that of its formidable rival, "The Statesman," which owes its admirable order and array to its founder, Robert

Knight, who was also responsible for that other inspiration of genius, the Sunday issue with its wealth of "Special Shorts." In those days the Chowringhee oracle was the direct antithesis of the Hare Street thunderer; it fostered Indian political aspirations with non-conformist conscientiousness and tentation, but when S. K. Ratcliffe, the Fabian, was installed in the editorial caserne, it became more Indian than the Indian papers themselves. This Augustan age lasted for three years, beginning with the Curzonian durbar which was held at Delhi ostensibly to commemorate the accession of Edward the Seventh to the Imperial *gadi*. Ratcliffe was a slashing leader-writer, bursting with all that pomp and gallantry of a journalism which arrogates to itself the right to govern the world. Many people who did not agree with him liked to read him: but furtively and shamefacedly. He left India in 1906, and in 1911 the paper he edited so ably in the Indian cause performed a complete *volte face*. After that, in the hands of J. A. Jones, the most uncompromising of Anglo-Indians, it became the most widely circulated paper in the whole of India, and the best advertising medium. Jones was one of the seven omniscient British journalists who in 1905 signed a letter which appeared in a prominent place in "The Times" (London), in which they scorned the gross insinuation that there was anarchism or revolution in Bengal in consequence of the Partition; but like the other signatories he had been hypnotized by Ratcliffe, the author of the effusion; as soon as the personal magnetism of the Fabian was withdrawn Jones returned to the normal mentality of a countryman and disciple of Lloyd George of "Steel Frame" renown. But all the glory of the change in the fortunes of "The Statesman" did not appertain to Jones; a very substantial share belong to H. E. Watson, a capable Manager of the modern type. He was imported to control a big rotary press and its concomitants, chief of which was a page of illustrations after the style of the big London dailies,

He exploited the advertisers with fearless confidence and advanced the rates to a figure that made them gasp but yield. "The Statesman" is now a very valuable property. According to the ideas of the proprietors themselves its market value is a crore of rupees. You may legitimately deduct 50 per cent. for swelled head, but even then you get a price extraordinary for a newspaper in India which has little or no job-work to support it. "The Times of India" and "The Pioneer" possess lucrative job presses, and the former has struck oil with "The Times of India Illustrated Weekly," the fruitful idea of Coleman who came to Bombay from "The Times" (London); still the magnates of Chowringhee very recently declined to join a newspaper combine in India unless it was given a 75 per cent. superiority over the other partners in the deal. Had "The Statesman" remained for all time "The Friend of India" of its founder's imagination and Paikpara's hope, it would not have climbed to the eminence of which it is so justly proud. This truism suggests the melancholy reflection that the Indian intelligentsia do not adequately support the papers which champion the national cause. To so humiliating a generalisation I must put in a caveat in favour of Madras where "The Hindu," which still bears the impress of the genius of Subramania Aiyar, has the biggest circulation and the greatest influence, having left the Anglo-Indian "Madras Mail" lumbering far in the rear. Compare with its proud and comfortable position that of "The Bengalee" to which Surendra Nath Banerjea gave his best years and his most glittering talents. Then weep ye sons and daughters of Bengal.

To hark back to 1897, "The Indian Daily News," then practically owned and actually dominated by David Yule, held a position midway between the ultra-Conservative "Englishman" and the tentatively Radical "Statesman." It gave much space to commercial news and was well thought of in Olive Street. Its political views were liberal. In the

description and criticism of sports of all kinds it easily outstripped its rivals. It might have become the most popular paper in Calcutta if Yule had not refused working finance just when the prospect was roseate. It then passed into the possession of William Graham, a clever lawyer with a ready and sarcastic pen, and held its own under the editorship firstly of Everard Digby and secondly of K. K. Sen, until it was purchased by C. R. Das and absorbed by "Forward," the Swarajist defender of the people's rights. Just before the Anti-partition, Fraser Blair, for some time editor of "The Englishman," added an evening paper to Calcutta journalism. The start was brilliant but staying power was lacking. Its founder and editor is now on the staff of "The Statesman," and although it has been twice reincarnated it presents the tawdry appearance of a has-been who is constantly missing the bus.

The weekly press is a distinguishing feature of Anglo-Indian journalism in Calcutta, for nothing approaching its distinction and power exists in any other city of India. In 1858 Shirley Tremearne, a business-man who was also a practical lawyer and an industrious writer to the press, founded "Capital," a weekly journal of commerce and finance. He gave it form and temperament with such shrewd insight that it jumped at once into the front rank where it stands four-square to all the winds that blow. Much about the same time Pat Doyle, a Civil Engineer, started "Indian Engineering" which, during his lifetime, was a scientific publication of great merit. It will interest you to know that Asutosh Mukerjee, before he became world-famous as an educationist, contributed to its columns articles on the higher mathematics which attracted the notice and received the approbation of scholars in Europe and America. The light of other days has faded and its glory gone! "Indian Engineering" still lingers, a ghost of its former self, but the profession prefers the guidance of "The Eastern Engineer"

in all technical matters. The big war of 1914-1918 gave the quietus to two weeklies of old standing which we could ill afford to lose. These were "The Asian," a purely sporting paper, and "The Indian Planters' Gazette," familiarly known as "The Pig" which added a sporting supplement to its budget of planting and general news. "The Asian" was the creation of an Australian journalist named Targett, the first in India to realise the now generally accepted canon that advertisements must pay the whole cost of a paper and more, if financial success is to be achieved. In the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century sport was a consuming interest of the European Plantation, naturally "The Asian" became an imperial authority and was read everywhere. "The Pig" catered for a more restricted congregation with a debonair virility which was always a refreshment.

In 1904, I was offered and accepted the editorship of "The Indian Planters Gazette," and finally broke away from daily journalism to which I had given twenty-one of the best years of my life. It was a wrench for I had been very happy battling in the storm and stress for a place in the sun. A journalist's portion was not all beer and skittles in that time; for one thing he was generally considered "no class" by European High Society. I recall a lurid illustration of this snobbery in a hotel in Madras in 1889. Rudyard Kipling's inimitable letters, "From Sea to Sea" were appearing in "The Pioneer," and one night at dinner they became the theme of discussion. An R. A. Colonel, who held the post of Inspector-General of Ordnance, was sitting at the head of the table and was obviously bored. At long last he chipped in with a question addressed to the company at large: "Have you met any of these writing fellows in the flesh? They are the most awful bounders imaginable, and I am sure this chap Kipling is no exception." I felt moved to protest and disclose my profession, but I recollected in time the classical story of Rabelais and the Pope. If Kipling, the pride

of "The Pioneer," was treated with such disparagement by a bureaucratic high priest, what would be the fate of an obscure freelance like myself who professed an unpopular religion and was an Irish Nationalist to boot? There was a time, not so very long ago, when a Civil Servant, who acted as the Census Commissioner, in his official report bracketed journalists with soothsayers and circumcisers; that was the exact measure of the esteem in which the average journalist was held by the Higher Bureaucracy. Recently there has been a change in the attitude, from contempt and suspicion to respect and appreciation, not because the profession has attracted men of greater culture and respectability than formerly, but simply because the foundations of bureaucratic arrogance and prejudice have been sapped by the democratic tide which is slowly but surely flooding the country. Since the War we have seen journalists, European and Indian, knighted for their services to the State and to the public; we have also seen Indian journalists appointed Ministers of the Government, and what is more they have been justified by their works. This triumph over the powers of darkness is something to be proud of and to be thankful for, but you will forgive a scarred veteran for saying that the waiting time was the hardest time of all. Yet believe me, Gentlemen, the broad humanity which journalism fosters when professed in the true spirit enables me with all sincerity to end my first lecture with the sentiment enshrined in some favourite lines of Oliver Wendell Holmes:

What if another sit beneath the shade
Of the broad elm I planted by the way,—
What if another heed the beacon light
I set upon the rock that wrecked my keel,—
Have I not done my task and served my kind?

PATRICK LOVETT

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS AT THE MOGUL'S CAMP

(His Negotiations)

IV

About this time the Emperor was meditating a change of Camp but whither was as yet uncertain. Rumours, however, ran to the effect that it might be either to Conian near Aurangabad or to Kilnah.

On the 27th the Vizier informed Sir William, somewhat to the latter's disappointment, that the abstract of his proposals concerning the *phirmaund* was too long, that the Mogul in consequence would never read it, and that if now it could be shortened it would be submitted to His Majesty. A shorter abstract was therefore prepared and sent to Bagnemall who proceeded even at that late hour to alter it in two material points, much to Sir William's disadvantage. (1) In the article relating to consular powers the proviso was inserted that if the Consuls did not do justice the English might complain and apply for redress to the Mooliseddi. This, of course, invalidated the whole article. (2) Bagnemall inserted in "general terms" that the New Company might have a mint at Hooghly, but omitted to mention that this was a special privilege to be extended to them. In the Ambassador's opinion these alterations admitted of only one interpretation that their author had been bribed by agents of the Old Company. He, therefore, re-wrote the articles and after sealing sent them to Bagnemall.

Next day he sent messengers to remind the Vizier of the promise to bring his case before the Emperor. Asad lost, probably with intention, the opportunity presented by a *Durbar* and put off from day to day. Apparently, however, he

contrived to let Sir William know that he had received Imperial permission to accept the Ambassador's presents. About the end of the month the latter learnt that Ruhullah Khan had been commanded by the Mogul to make out the *phirmaunds* and had again played a double part. It is interesting to note that, at this point, Sir William sent some pictures to the ladies of the harem. He was apparently determined to leave no stone unturned.

Meanwhile at Surat the Council had been busy. Their book of consultations records under date of October 2, that the Emperor had not written to Syett Sedula, the holy priest, and, further, that the Old Company had given away large sums of money, over Rs. 2,00,000, to Ruhullah Khan, to induce him to delay the granting of the *phirmaunds*. The Council also resolved to inform His Excellency that the Emperor was in the habit of corresponding two or three times a month with Syett Sedula and that the latter had promised the Council to write to him in their favour.

Sir William wrote to the Council on October 3, about what had happened the previous day at Court which he had learnt from Rustomjee. This has been already recorded and will help to illustrate the difficult position in which the Ambassador now found himself. The Vizier had presented the *arzee* concerning the affairs of the Embassy. When the Emperor saw it, without reading one word he threw it down, exclaiming that on account of its length he could not read it. The Vizier picked it up, saying that he would read it aloud. This the Emperor declined, saying that he would only consent to have two or three lines brought to him. The Vizier wisely concluded that it was useless to persist any further and therefore withdrew. He, therefore, informed Sir William that he had ordered his Secretary Bagnemall to draw up another and shorter *arzee* which he promised should be presented to the Emperor either on the 4th or 5th. He added that he could not insert in the new *arzee* the article about

reducing the customs at Surat to two per cent. because the Emperor would never consent to it. Neither could he mention the misrepresentation made by Ruhullah Khan regarding the affairs of the Embassy, as the Mogul would consider the latter merely a ruse intended to deprive him of the promised lakh of rupees. Sir William's consternation may be imagined nor could he understand the reason for it all. He was further perturbed by the thought of undertakings he had given to make money payment—to the Vizier of a lakh of rupees, to his chief eunuch and favourite Rs. 10,000 with smaller sums to those of lesser importance—all to take effect on the granting of the *phirmaunds*.

Exactly at this time too he learnt of the Emperor having been informed the day before that the Emarems of Mocha had seized the goods of several Surat merchants and were keeping them by way of reprisal for loss sustained by Hassain Hamidan,¹ who, they alleged, had recently been robbed by Old Company pirates. As, in their opinion, the Emperor had failed to do justice by compelling the English to make reparation, they had taken the law into their own hands. This being not only an affront to, but a reflection on, himself, as soon as he learnt of these reprisals upon his own subjects, the Emperor showed the displeasure he felt by refusing to send his annual grant of a lakh of rupees.

It was most unfortunate that these events should have happened just when the Vizier was presenting the Embassy's case. Because if Asad should present the draft in its revised form and the Emperor were again to refuse it, the refusal would constitute such a rebuff to the Embassy as might be considered absolute and final. No one would dare to press the matter further and there would be no longer any reason for Sir William's continued presence at Court. He intended, of course, to stay as long as was consistent with his dignity;

¹ Merchant and brother of Ibrahim Shreef of Judie.

but should this become impossible would depart at once. Clearly he feared the worst, for he warned the Council that secret orders might be given to seize treasure conveyed in New Company's ships from England, and this, should it happen, would mean that active hostility had been determined on.

Weighed down by a sense of failure he devotes a considerable part of this letter to a vindication of his own conduct. Especially does he defend himself against the Consul's complaint that he had not visited Asad Khan or the Omrahs at Bramporee. It had never been in his power to do so as he had not received the Mogul's permission. Neither had the latter permitted him to visit his son or grandson. Being on the spot Sir William knew that the withholding of permission was really due to jealousy. Had he informed the Council earlier they would have considered it a deliberate affront and shown their resentment. To keep the peace therefore he had been silent about it. He asked the Council also not to interfere in matters beyond their own province. This he did in reference to what had been done by the Consul in offering security for Mocha and *zerband*. Sir Nicholas Waite had inserted not only his own name but also that of the Ambassador and this had been done both in English and Persian. Sir William had thus felt himself committed to a step for the consequences of which he had all along greatly feared. But he could not now repudiate the undertaking, little as he trusted Sir Nicholas' repeated assurances that it would be for the advantage of the company. Again the Council had complained that Sir William had taken no steps to prevent the Old Company's procurators from continuing at Court, intimating that he ought at least to have compelled them to acknowledge his authority as the King's Ambassador. For this he emphatically repudiated all blame. Of course, he knew there were two such persons at Court, one from Surat and the other from Fort St. George. He knew also that they, along with

Mahmud Tuckey, a merchant of Surat, had been giving away large sums of money to various ministers and officers. But owing to the prevailing corruption it was impossible to prevent them or others from doing so, nor was it possible to prevent Ministers from accepting such bribes.

It is plain from the events above recorded that the Ambassador had been subjected to many indignities. An example of these may be now narrated. He had been styled *Vakil* in a paper sent by officers of the *Holsoe*, and had refused to answer till he should be given his proper designation as Ambassador from the king of England. His protest on this occasion was successful, as the clerk responsible for the insult was reprimanded and ordered in future to accord him his proper and official title. But this and other similar happenings had their effect on his proud and sensitive spirit, so that he preferred, as far as possible, to be silent about them.

On October 5th, having had no further information concerning the *arzee*, Sir William sent Rustomji to Bagnemall to make enquiries, and was informed in reply that the Vizier had not yet heard from Ruhullah Khan. Sir William sent Rustomji again urging Asad Khan to deliver the *arzee* next day to the Emperor, and, if it should be the Emperor's pleasure again to entrust the business of the Embassy to Ruhullah Khan he requested the Vizier to point out that not only had he delayed the business for four months, but had also misrepresented Sir William's affairs to the Emperor. To show that he did not intend to be further trifled with he at the same time requested permission for ready passage through the Mogul's dominions to Surat, from which place he declared his intention of embarking for England. He offered, further, that if the Mogul would grant him an audience before leaving he would present him with 201 gold *mohurs*. On receiving this message the Vizier sent a messenger to Ruhullah Khan requesting him to say whether he had received Sir William's papers and had ever communicated them to the

Emperor. Rhullah confessed that he had not yet done so. Asad Khan then assured Sir William that an *arzee* should be presented next day.

The Mogul had now finally resolved to go to Kilnah, and in preparation for the journey roads over the mountains were being levelled. Ruhullah Khan was entrusted with the task of having carts, carriages and camels in readiness. The general bustle distracted Sir William's attention for a little while from his own anxieties and he heard conflicting reports regarding the castle of Munden, which appears to have been then a subject of general conversation at Court. He records a characteristic episode. It is here transcribed from the journal because it and another extract throw an interesting sidelight on the Ambassador's mind and show how ready he was to be interested in contemporary events even when they had no bearing on his own affairs. He heard that the Castle of Munden had at last come into the Mogul's possession under remarkable circumstances. The inmates of the castle were alarmed lest it should be taken by the Mogul; and amongst them there was

“a daughter of Donnajado ye greate Comandinge Rajah in these parts who had wth her a great Treasure in Jewells etc. And ye Rajah fearinge yt his daughter and ye jewells should fall into Fatyr ulla Chawns hands. Had this contrivance and stratagem to save ym both and ye Rest likewise yt were in the Castle: Donnajado sends one he durst entrust to Zulphar Chawn and Bermand Chawn offers each a Lack of Rupees to be Instrumentall in his design for ye escape of his daughter jewells etc. and contrived after this manner. Donnajado was to come such a day wth 7000 Horse and fall upon Zulphar Chawn. Zulphar Chawn was to send for Fattyrr ulla Chawn to leave his post neare ye Gates of ye castle and come Imediately to his assistance and soe ye Rajahs daughter wth her Jewells etc. was to take ye opertunity and flee away where her ffather was ready to Receive her every thinge proceeded as ye Rajah desird a sort of a sham onsett was made in weh however about 40 were killed. Zulphar Chawn sends for ffattyrr ulla Chawn who flys to his assistance and ye Damsell makes her eschape soe ffattyrr

ulla Chawn att his Return found ye birds flown ye Castle doores open for Him to take possession of. He stormes & Rages for being foold Zulphar Chawn and Bermand Chawn Hugg themselves as well yt each of ym has gott a Lack of Rupees as yt they have Tricked this Blusteringe Tartar. The Story is known all ye Lesehar over. The Empr knows it to be true and yett has not thought proper to take any farther notice of it."¹

It was said that when several of the ministers and officers went to congratulate the Emperor on the surrender of the Castle, he refused to receive their congratulations, but signified that he would receive them in public the next day "wch was a sufficient intimation to ym not to come empty handed." The other extract bears on an event that concerned himself although only to a very slight extent. He writes:

"This day Saodar Chawn a nephew of Gasdo Chawn and Brother in law to Ruolo Chawn came into the Leschar, he came from Bramporee and a very large Replala under his convoy as likewise a new wife for Zulphar Chawn who they say is daughter to ye King of Bossara (but who ye King is I know not). He marchd close by my quarters wth a numerous attendance of Elephants Horses and more colours then I have seen any march wth yett, Indeed I thinke He made almost a greater show as ye Vizir when he passed by most of ye greate officers sent out their state to meet him and accompany him him into ye Leschar. He had about 1000 Tartars on Horseback wth him all of ym Riding wth feathers stuck in their Turlatts."

The actual marriage was celebrated in the Mogul's tent on October 29th with great solemnity. The bride and all the Omraos' wives spent the night in the Mogul's tent. The festivities lasted for nine days so the Emperor postponed his departure. The bridegroom, Zulphar Khan, was the only son of the Vizier, who presented "100 changes of apparel to all the women" attending his daughter-in-law, whilst to the bride herself he gave "a very great present in jewels." On

¹ See pp. 15-16 of C. O. 77/50.

the same occasion Sir William also sent a present of four fine pieces of brocade and thirty pieces of gold and silver lace and fringe.

Meanwhile news was on its way calculated to alter completely the complexion of affairs. On a preceding page reference has been made to an intended Union of the two Companies. Now, on October 6, Sir Nicholas Waite informed the Council at Surat that news, received from the French Director, through Syett Sedulla had just arrived to the effect that King William had ordered the Union of the Companies. It might have been expected that with a coalition of the rival corporations Sir William's difficulties would immediately vanish as by magic. But the Council warned him it had led rather to a fresh complication. There was still outstanding the question of Husain Hamidan's debt. Conceivably the assets of the Old Company might be insufficient to meet it. The Governor of Surat had, therefore, suggested that in the latter event the properties of the New Company should be seized, together with the Ambassador, the Consul and the remainder of the English.

The Mogul's preparations for departure were now complete, and he had arranged to march in twenty days' time. His first intermediate camp was to be at Corabad, 16 corse away from Kilnah. For that purpose he ordered the carriages to be in readiness and also sent for elephants and horses from Bramporee. Amongst those elephants there was one

"Y^e largest of all and w^h is called Padsha Bollon (y^e favrite of y^e Kinge) and is y^e elephant on w^h y^e Mogull rode on and fought that day he conquered his Broth^r Sullam Durah y^e elephant in y^e fight being twice shott thorough y^e Mogull has taken a particular fancy to Him ever since Allows him soe many Halarys for his maintenance soe many officers and men to looke after him and attend him and has y^e elephant led before him and ten others to attend him w^h drums musick and flags whenever he walkes abroade."

It was important, therefore, that the *arzee* mentioned above should be delivered as early as possible. Soon after

Sir William was informed by the Vizier that he had attended the *Durbar* for the express purpose of presenting to the Emperor the *arzee* relating to the Ambassador's affairs. It was to the effect that the desired *phirmaunds* for the three factories belonging to the New Company should be similar to those already enjoyed by other Europeans, such as the Old Company and the Dutch. The *arzee* contained, however, five new articles, but that concerning the reduction of the customs at Surat to two per cent. had been omitted. The Emperor asked the Vizier for what reason Sir William should be granted more privileges than those hitherto enjoyed by other Europeans. To which the Vizier replied that the Ambassador was sent from "a greate Kinge" and that even to grant such favours would be a great honour. The Vizier also said that if His Majesty could not grant them Sir William would immediately take his departure. Upon that the Emperor examined the five new articles requested and also asked the Vizier to bring a concise account of the privileges enjoyed by the English and the Dutch. After due consideration of them he would then give a final answer. Sir William immediately sent true copies of the English and Dutch *phirmaunds* to Bagnemall and ordered Rustomji to acquaint him that Sir William would give 100 gold *mohurs* in addition to the Rs. 500 already promised, if Bagnemall would secure the *phirmaunds* within a fortnight. Bagnemall in thanking Sir William for the offer strongly advised him also to propitiate Fazell Khan and the officers of the *Holsoe* by offering a gratuity. When the Vizier asked the officers of the *Holsoe* to supply him with the original copies of the documents, they excused themselves by saying that they had not received direct orders from the Emperor to deliver them which made the Vizier very indignant. He reprimanded Lolla Chuturb Hogedas and commanded him to bring them immediately. Hogedas said that he could not tell whether they were in the office or whether they had been left at Aurangabad, Bramporee

or Golconda. Sir William considered this was a design by the *Holsoe* to delay the mission still further; it also increased his confidence in the Vizier's integrity of purpose concerning the affairs of the Embassy

"Y^e as yett neither y^e Vizir his eunuchs or secretarys are brib'd by ye procurad^rs of y^e Old Company to embarrass or betray us."

Another fact which strengthened his opinion was that a few days before, it was discovered that Ruhullah Khan had presented an *arzee* to the Emperor on behalf of the Old Company, who asked pardon for their past misdemeanours and prayed for a "new establishment." They asked for new *phirmaunds* containing the same privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed and for these offered to pay four lakhs of rupees into the Imperial privy purse. The Mogul angrily tore up the *arzee* saying to Ruhullah Khan :

"Would you have me doe soe dishounarable a thinge and soe much injustice to many other people for 4 Leck of Rupees?"

The Emperor could not allow the Old Company to wipe out their debts in such a fashion, and so the matter ended for the time. Sir William remarks on this transaction that if the Old Company had been ~~so~~ ^{so} ~~efficiently~~ ^{efficiently} fortunate as to obtain a new establishment they would get clear of a large part of the debt due under their present *phirmaund*. For 80 lakhs of rupees due by its provisions they would be able to substitute only 4. In spite, however, of the foggy language in which the proposal was expressed the Emperor saw through it and declined to agree. But in the journal, however, Sir William frankly expresses his doubts about the Imperial *bonafides*. The Emperor, he implies, simulated indignation at being asked to do public injustice to the amount of 80 lakhs in return for 4 lakhs of private gain. But the Ambassador is of the opinion that were the bribe raised to 6 lakhs he would be more complaisant. Sir William, however, could

make no capital out of the episode, because when he asked for a true copy of the *arzee* presented, on behalf of the Old Company, the clerk professed that he could not procure one.

Sir William thought it prudent to secure the friendship of Enætt ulla Khan and Lolla Chuturb Hogedas by offering 1,000 gold *mohurs* to the former and Rs. 5,000 to the latter. He sent Rustomji to offer this on condition that the *phirmaunds* should be delivered into his hands, without containing any obligation for securing the seas, within a fortnight's time. He thus hoped to avoid further difficulties which might arise. He had already promised large sums of money to the Emperor, the Vizier, and other officers amounting in all to Rs. 2,53,000, besides of smaller sums which might be incurred. To his great surprize he discovered that Enætt ulla Khan never took bribes; all the more therefore Sir William endeavoured to secure his friendship. The Dewan of Enætt ulla Khan pretended to the Ambassador that his master would accept bribes privately given. This was in order to ascertain the amount he would be willing to give so that the Dewan Kissedas might negotiate the transaction and keep the money for himself.

Hitherto Sir William had not observed any conspicuous honesty in his agents. It may be that he was, like many others, incapable of inspiring loyalty, or that in his choice of agents he lacked discrimination. He also suspected Rustomji and warned him that if he were discovered to have acted falsely or in dealing with Enætt ulla tried to get money for himself, he would be cashiered. Rustomji however assured the Ambassador of his integrity. On October 11, Hogedas who posed as a person of influence had a conversation with Rustomji with regard to the negotiations. He sounded Rustomji as to how much money the Vizier had been given, and was answered that the Vizier always acted honourably. This Hogedas refused to believe and said that the Rs. 5,000 already offered by the Ambassador was too small a sum for

him. On hearing this Sir William increased his offer to Hogedas by doubling it. By some means all this came to the knowledge of Enaett ulla Khan and in his righteous indignation he accused Hogedas of bribery. This was apparently to the Mogul, for he stated in support of the accusation that Hogedas had accumulated no less a sum than 70 lakhs of rupees. The Emperor's avarice was aroused and he asked where the money was kept. The reply was that Hogedas had houses in many different parts of the country. Immediate action followed. The Mogul ordered Hogedas to be seized and bound, and his tent to be searched. On all this Sir William commented that probably very little would be found either in his tent or elsewhere. They keep their riches

"where is y^e most security, and y^e is, y^e money constantly kept in y^e shroffs hands who make greate advantage by lending it and there only safe from y^e Empr^s clutches. Their jewells lyinge in little compass they have devices to hide and keepe secrett from y^e highest to y^e lowest are all slaves to y^e mogulls capritious humour and lyable to have all they have seizd upon y^e least groundless complaint and turnd out of all they have att a minutes warning without ever beinge heard."

Hogedas was subsequently dismissed from his office on the charge of bribery.

The moral atmosphere of the Court and the use to which some of the accumulated wealth was turned are illustrated by the fact that Rustomji was asked by one of the Mogul's officers if Sir William would like some dancing women to be sent for his diversion. On being informed that Sir William would not entertain such a proposal the official who made the suggestion remarked that he used to send dancing women almost daily to the Dutch Ambassador and the Vizier had them every night for his entertainment.

On October 12, Hogedas informed Rustomji that he had been busy drawing up the papers but could not send them without permission from Enaett ulla Khan, who, Sir William

wrote, now seemed less devoted to his interests. The Vizier sent a *Roka* to Enaett asking for the papers which apparently were kept at his office. The reply given was that the *Roka* was not explicit. A second was sent but the messenger found that Enaett had left the office. Rustomji saw the Dewan of Enaett the next day who stated that it would not be possible to complete the business within a fortnight and that probably a month might elapse before it could be finished. Sir William desired that the Embassy's business should be concluded before the Emperor left the *Leskaz*, and accordingly sent Rustomji again to say that as regards the obligation to give security for either Mocha or Varella and Malabar, it was true the Ambassador had formerly offered Mocha, but as the security of the seas had already been undertaken by other Europeans, Sir William had offered the Emperor one lakh of rupees in order to be free from any such obligation. He also pointed out that as Varella and Malabar belonged to the Emperor, it was the duty of the Governor of Surat to protect its inhabitants from pirates who also were the Mogul's own subjects. Sir William asked Rustomji to emphasize the fact that he had no commission from the King of England to give such security. When Rustomji met Enaett with this message, he found him as indifferent as formerly and concluded that the offer of money had not been communicated to him by his Dewan.

Amid all this sordid intrigue and bribery it is a relief when Sir William gives, as here and there he does, interesting glimpses into the domestic life both of the Court and the people. The Mogul's march on the 10th of November

coveringe of scarlett cloath Richly Embroyderd wth gold, they enchamp neare my quarters and stay till y^e Rest of y^e Greate mens wives come to them and soe all are to goe together. Sultan Chambucks havinge 4 wives the Emp^r has allowd him to keepe 2 wth him and y^e other 2 to be sent to Bramporee wth 150 other women to attend y^m besides Eunuchs."

Besides those mentioned there was a large number of women belonging to less important members of the Emperor's retinue, who were unable to support their wives separately. Of these it was said that when the Kotwal came into the "*Topeanna*" and announced that the Emperor had ordered all women to leave the *Leschar* in three days' time, they drew their swords and declared that they could fight for their wives as well as for their Emperor. Sir William also heard that the chief Holarear had been ordered to visit all tents in three days' time and if any women were found in them they were to be pulled down, which would expose the women. As this was the greatest indignity which could be shown to these women, Sir William expressed doubt as to the truth of the report. He further added that high officials who enjoyed the Emperor's favour would, no doubt, comply with the orders to send away some of their women, but that ordinary men who had little or nothing to lose would hardly be persuaded to do so, and that the Emperor and his officials would not find it possible to enforce their commands.

Sir William gives a scathing description of the corruption existing at that time in the Mogul's court. He remarks :

"They are y^e most cowardly loose despicable government in y^e world indeed not fitt to be the Rulers of a great Empire. Their Laws morality but cheatinge a very

as y^e ministers does not spare one another soe neither does y^e comon people y^e ministers nor even y^e Emp^r of whom they openly tell such storys that comon modesty or Respect would keepe in silence."

These remarks about the Emperor indicate great credulity and his assertions are often based on mere gossip which he seems to have repeated without using any discrimination. Court gossip was then as common in India as it was in European Courts, so Sir William was not altogether justified in his comparison that .

"they talk of y^e Empr^r in publick have nothinge of y^e awe and reverence for him as our European nations have for their Kings ; He is feard indeed because wth the breath of his mouth he can make y^e greatest man a beggar they are all his slaves, but yet they presume soe farr either upon his age or present lenity to talke very vilifyingly of him." •

On October 14, Enaett ulla Khan gave orders that the papers relating to Embassy affairs should be got ready with all expedition that he might read and sign them. The same afternoon Rustomji brought word that they were ready and would be certified very soon. Sir William apparently received drafts for perusal and he notes (1) That several articles¹ he had stipulated for in the *phirmaunds* as being commonly granted to Europeans were certified as being what he represented. (2) That some others, *e.g.*, one relating to a warehouse at Surat and another dealing with the grant of burying grounds, not hitherto included in *phirmaunds* granted to Europeans, were accepted as being in accordance with custom. And (3) that five articles not before included in *phirmaunds*, but now for the first time requested by Sir William, had been drawn up on a paper apart and certified as being wholly new. (4) That all would be in readiness for the Vizier to deliver to the Emperor on the 16th instant.

Sir William now learnt that when Enaett ulla Khan returned the papers to the Vizier signed and certified he had

¹ See, p. 33 of C. O. 44.

also inserted a reference to the opinion of the Governor of Surat that the New Company should give some obligation for securing the seas before the granting of any *phirmaund*. After reading them the Vizier sent back the papers saying that he considered they had not been properly drawn up, and desired omission of the clause relating to the obligation for safety of the seas. To which Enaett ulla Khan replied that it was the duty of the officers of the *Holsoe* to certify everything relating to Europeans, and that the undertaking to secure the seas was of material importance and should, therefore, be represented to the Emperor. The Vizier replied that *his* directions received from the Emperor made no mention of any such obligation and that all reference to it must be omitted. If however Enaett still persisted about this obligation he could himself deliver it in an *arzee* to the Emperor. Sir William understood that the papers would be delivered next day to the Vizier without containing any reference to the disputed clause. This stiff attitude of Enaett ulla Khan induced Sir William to believe that he was endeavouring to hinder the mission and that either Kissedas his Dewan had not told him of Sir William's offer of 1,000 gold *mohurs* or that he had higher offers either from the procurators of the Old Company or from the Dutch. The Ambassador was naturally much disappointed by all this, and his anxieties were not lightened when about the same time he had letters from the President and Council at Surat "a hotch potch of 42 pages, of no use but to satisfy the Consul's vanity." These contained a charge against Mr. Mill, on which Sir William commented that he never found any falsehood in Mr. Mill and believed the Consul owed him a grudge for discovering certain of his own transactions.

Sir William now sent Rustomji to Enaett to expedite affairs as much as possible and enclosed in the *Roka* a slip of paper intimating the offer of 1,000 gold *mohurs* previously made through Kissedas. But at this Enaett appears to have

taken offence and said that he would do all that was just and right. He took exception to a request in the *arzee* asking for the establishment of a mint at Hooghly, pointing out that as there were already three European companies coining money at Rajemoul it would be no advantage to the Mogul to allow the New Company to establish a mint at Hooghly instead of Rajemoul. As to the article relating to the power of Consuls, Enaett pointed out that no other Europeans employed these officers and asked why the New Company should want to exercise such jurisdiction within the Mogul's dominions. He also raised an objection regarding five villages for the Presidency of Masulipatam. And added finally that since the security of the seas had been guaranteed by three other European powers the New Company could not expect their *phirmaunds* without doing the same.

The Vizier was much displeased with Enaett ulla Khan's proceedings and sent demanding the papers, which Enaett refused saying that he must first see the Vizier himself. Owing to these delays, the latter now decided to transact the business himself, and ordered his secretary Bagnemall to obtain copies of the papers from Hogedas which was accordingly done. The Vizier further assured Sir William that he would make his report to the Emperor, accompanied by Fazel Khan, the latter to receive the Imperial commands for drawing up the *phirmaunds* at once.

At this time the Ambassador records a curious fact concerning the Emperor, who seems to have been ill for two or three days. Apprehensive that his subjects might believe he was nearing his end and in order to "put ye best face on it," he suddenly appeared on horseback in order to attend the *Durbar* that all might see him. Sir William remarks that since his arrival at the *Leschar*, the Emperor had not appeared before in such a manner. The Emperor knew that his public appearance would be duly reported to his sons and would thus prevent their making attempts to supersede him

on the supposition that his death was near at hand. It seemed that the

“ Old Emprer had a mind to spin out his life as longe as he can & prevent his sons shortninge of it. He fears to be served by ym as He serv'd His ffather.”

The Vizier on October 20, went himself to the office of the *Holsoe* and meeting Enaett ulla Khan there demanded from him Sir William's papers. Enaett in reply said he wished first of all to speak to him about them and repeated to the Vizier the objections he had already made about them to Rustomji. Asad refused to listen and returning to his quarters ordered Bosson and Bagnemall to draw up a *Roka* for Sir William to sign. This was preliminary to his bringing the affair before the Emperor. The *Roka* was drawn up in Persian “with all ye ensnareing artifice imaginable,” and given to Mr. Mill to be translated into English. If more had been hoped for from the Vizier than from Ruhullah or Enaett there was speedy disillusionment. It was discovered that in the very first line of the *Roka* the Old Company was charged with piracy. Thus, if Sir William had signed it he would have made himself and his countrymen responsible for losses sustained by the merchants of Surat. And inasmuch as it also charged Ruhullah Khan with having received direct bribes from Mahmud Tuckey and the Old Company's procurators in order to delay affairs, Sir William would have got into still greater difficulty had he signed it. When Rustomji went to Enaett ulla Khan he found the Dewan of Multiplatt Khan with him. Enaett said that he required answers from the Ambassador to the following questions:— Whether Sir William would give the Emperor two lakhs of rupees instead of the one originally offered: whether he would give any undertaking for guarding the seas: and how much more would he give if the Old Company were turned out and not allowed to trade any more. These enquiries were accompanied by covert insult; for Rustomji overheard Enaett

remark to the Dewan that the Ambassador had been already seven months in the country and, having given no undertaking for securing the seas, might have to wait another seven before securing the *phirmaunds*. Apart from the question of securing the seas, Sir William informed Enaett ulla Khan that he would not pay the additional lakh as it had been offered without his permission by Ruhullah Khan.

On the evening of the 22nd Bosson gave Rustomji another paper for Sir William to sign, but was assured in reply that there was no probability of this being done. He soon returned to say that the Vizier would see the Emperor next day, but what could he say to the Mogul if the *Roka* were not signed? Sir William, however, having by now lost faith in promises that seemed made only to gain incidental points, declined to be drawn. Just then Mr. Harlewyn reported that for several nights shots had been fired at his tent. A special watch was therefore set which resulted in the capture red-handed of a man afterwards discovered to be in Ruhullah Khan's service.

On October 23, the Vizier sent word by Rustomji that the Emperor could not begin his journey that day, and that as the day following was their Sabbath when no one could speak to the Mogul, the matter must stand over till the 25th. He would then fulfil his promise but could not guarantee success, as the Mogul was much preoccupied with other things. The next day Enaett sent for Rustomji and told him that if Sir William would promise to secure the seas, he could undertake his business, otherwise not.

The Ambassador having received wax-works, brocade, gold and silver lace from England, sent Rustomji to Bosson to propose that either he or the Vizier should examine and accept them either for their own entertainment or that of their women. Rustomji was also instructed to say that other curiosities were being reserved as a present for the Vizier in addition to the lakh of rupees already promised, in consideration

of his obtaining the *phirmaunds*. Following the offer Sir William sent twelve of his best waxworks which were much admired by the Vizier and his women. He sent also other articles of value to Bosson, who kept only a watch and some small mirrors. The fruit of these somewhat puerile courtesies was that Sir William received Bosson's assurance that his business would be concluded before the Emperor's departure.

On the 15th Rustomji informed the Ambassador that the Vizier had at last seen the Emperor, who had specifically asked if Sir William would give security for the seas. To this the Vizier had replied that the three European Companies had already guaranteed it. But the Emperor said Enaett ulla Khan had reported differently. The Vizier asked Enaett, who stated that the Governor of Surat had written that Vareel and Malabar had not yet been made secure. It was useless for Sir William to point out that Vareel and Malabar belonged to the Emperor and that their piracies could be dealt with by his own Governors. Already a more powerful argument had been offered—and failed—in the shape of a lakh of rupees to secure exemption. On learning therefore that Sir William declined the obligation, the Emperor curtly replied that the English knew best if it was worth their while to trade in India, and that if the required guarantee were not given the Ambassador might return to England the way he came. Sir William on being told this acted promptly.

Orders were issued to have everything in readiness for departure in a week's time. Carts and carriages were provided. A notice in English, Persian and Gentoo was fixed on the flagstaff. It read as follows:—

“ His Excy Srwm Norris Barrt Embassadr Extraordinary from ye Kinge of England Intendinge in a few days to depart from hence to Suratt, and there to embarke for England doe hereby give notice that if there is aay money owinge either from himselfe or any of His English Retinue to any person or persons whatsoever in ye Leskar upon applica-

tion made to his Excy within five days, ye same shall be immediately satisfyd."

Presumably Sir William was not averse to publicity regarding his departure hoping that the Mogul might still reconsider the matter. But to make certain that negotiation might not be finally broken off without further effort being made, he asked both the Vizier and Yar Ali Beg to convey to the Emperor his regret that he could not see his way to give the assurance for security of the seas which his Imperial Majesty required. Furthermore, after requesting the *dusticks* necessary for his journey to Surat, whence he was sailing to report to his own sovereign, he expressed his desire for a parting audience at which he wished to offer the usual presents.

When the decision to depart became known Enaett ulla Khan sent in great haste for Rustomji and in a threatening manner asked what the Ambassador intended to do. Why had he not signed an obligation for securing the seas as the Emperor had desired? He then placed a paper before Rustomji and demanded that he should sign it. This Rustomji refused saying he had no authority to do so. Enaett then ordered him to return at once to the Ambassador and obtain from him in writing an answer as to whether or not he intended to sign the obligation and added that if Sir William would not sign he could not answer for the consequences. The Ambassador on this drew up a statement in terms similar to those he had already sent to the Vizier and Yar Ali Beg. To make it more authoritative it was sealed before being sent to Enaett. After the latter had read the statement twice he laid it down and asked if the Ambassador had really decided to ruin all the negotiations. He expressed the hope that Sir William would reconsider his decision and said that before presenting the paper to the Emperor he would wait a few days. Rustomji then told him that the decision would not be altered as it was fixed and final.

In anticipation of his departure from the *Leskar*, Sir William wrote to the Council at Surat asking them to arrange if possible that he might encamp in the same garden as before during the short time he would be at Surat. He also earnestly requested them to have a ship in readiness that he might embark in about twenty days after his arrival. He hoped, he said, to begin his march in a week's time and would finish the journey as soon as possible. He fully expected difficulties before his departure from the *Leskar* and even at Surat, but these he was prepared to face. At the same time he did not disguise the fact that the large sum of money in his charge would only serve to increase the difficulties and even the dangers of his position.

In the same letter to justify himself he again made mention of the obligation for Mocha undertaken on the Consul's authority and the insertion in it of his own name without his knowledge or sanction. He pointed out that the mischief resulting from that indiscreet action would be incalculable. For one thing, the obligation having been once undertaken under the Consul's hand and seal would now be always insisted on by the Mogul's Government.

Meanwhile the Emperor gave no sign. It was reported that he was still persisting in his resolution to march for Kilnah in ten days' time. This was against the advice of his ministers, and particularly of Yar Ali Beg, who asked, why he should go to Kilnah at the present time, where all the Rajahs had assembled and which was the strongest place in their possession. There were 2,000 men in the castle and large numbers were encamped all round. Most of the elephants and horses belonging to the Mogul had arrived at the *Leskar* from Bramporee in readiness for an early march.

On October 30, Sir William wrote in his diary that all preparations for the journey were now complete and that he intended to leave in two days' time. All fire arms had been inspected and each man in the retinue would be armed with

a *Fuzee*, a pair of pistols and twenty rounds of ammunition. Most would welcome departure as there had been sickness in the Camp, from which the Ambassador himself had not been immune.

At 9 o'clock in the evening next day the outguard raised an alarm that an attack on the Embassy seemed imminent. The Englishmen believed that this was merely a ruse to test their powers of self-defence. If so it failed completely, for as soon as the Ambassador gave the order to sound to arms, each man sprang to his post and remained thus for a quarter of an hour. That very evening the gunsmith died; at such a juncture he could ill be spared.

(To be continued.)

HARIHAR DAS

THE BUDDHIST MONASTERY AT SANKARAM

Anakapalli is a flourishing town situated on the N. E. line of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, 463 miles from Madras, in the Vizagapatam District. About two and a half miles to the north-east of Anakapalli is a small village bearing the name "Sankaram." In the fields adjoining this village are too low, almost contiguous hills running east to west. They contain, says the Vizagapatam District Gazetteer, "some of the most remarkable Buddhist remains in the presidency." (*Vide the Vizagapatam Dt. Gazetteer, 1907 Edn., pp. 223, 224, 225.*)

The Telugu people near about call this "Bojjannakonda" a name which is hard to reconcile with the structure and origin of the monument. Literally the name means "the hill of the Bellied One." One would expect some connection with the Belly-god, Vināyaka, who wards off evil. But there is not a single image of the Belly-god, except a peculiar standing figure with a trunk at the entrance of a cave on the northern side of the eastern hill. But this is unlike the conventional representations of the deity in three respects, (i) it is standing, (ii) there is no crown, (iii) there is not the characteristic huge belly.

Every year, however, a festival is observed here on the *Kanama* day (the 15th January, this year). The crops in the fields about are cut by this time, so that the people can get to the hills across them, more quickly than by the circuitous trunk road from Anakapalli to Sankaram. The caves are then thoroughly cleared and the carved figures white-washed. Brahmini bulls (breeding bulls) are led into the first cave of the east hill in procession with torches and cymbals, and made to go round the stupa. Many stroll over

Annual Hindu Festival,

the two hills and everyone throws a stone at a stone image in the saddle between the two hills. The image represents the patron-Goddess of the place "pālaka-devi." But, such is the effect of crude superstition, that "pālaka-devi" has got corrupted into "*pallaki-devi*," i. e., the spirit coming in a palanquin and eating up infants! This latter addition is perhaps due to the figures of children in her arms. Hence the stoning. She is otherwise called "Ennemma." The image is almost buried under a heap of stones.

By 6 p. m. all go away, and, says the Gazetteer, "the shrines are left to the bats and owls for another year." Their droppings give out such a bad smell, that it is trying to enter the caves at other times. The caves (called "the Buddhist Monastery at Sankaram" in the Gazetteer) are protected by the Government under the Ancient Monuments Act. A watchman is maintained and provided with a tiled dwelling at the foot of the hills, and two notice boards (one at each hill) contain a warning in English and Telugu declaring the monastery a protected monument and forbidding mutilation of the figures or the removal of so much as a stone from the premises.

The stone generally found round about Anakepala is garnetic gneiss. This is plentiful on the hills (a continuation of the Eastern Ghats), is soft and easily dressed with the chisel. It is, therefore, largely used for building construction.

But along the crests of these two hills are outcrops of granite remaining in a row along their length. They have been cut into the forms of stupas and a few, of extraordinary size, have been hollowed out into caves of varying sizes, with carvings on the walls.

This contains a large number of stupas and only *one* cave. It is hence called the "Kotilingam-hill" or the hill with a "crore of *Pāllis*." A careful look at the top of the Western hill will show three

The Hills.

The Western Hill.

big masses of rock. These are three big boulders separated by passages about 6 ft. broad and 20 ft. long. The first two from the left are rounded into the shape of the conventional stupa. The third big mass contains a curved verandah with two pillars, 27 ft. long, 5' wide, and 8' high. It leads into a chamber 8 ft. square. This is the only cave in the western hill, but the appearance of the northern wall of the chamber leads one to suspect that a fine piece of carving in relief has suffered from the crow bar of the digger or the dynamite of the up-to-date engineer, who, no doubt, expedited his work, but at the cost of carvings of great interest.

To the east of the cave the rest of the hill-top consists of a series of rocky points, each of which is rounded into a stupa so that the Hindu name "Kotilingam" is not inappropriate. Another tradition calls them 'sacks of grain' perhaps to account for the boss at the top, not found on an ordinary Saivite *phallus*. All the stupas in general, and the two big ones in particular, have suffered a good deal by weathering and have lost the proper curvature on the southern side.

"But," says the Gazetteer rightly, "it is on the eastern of the two hills that the more remarkable of the remains are situated."

The Eastern Hill.

A careful look at the eastern hill in the photo will show a dome-like prominence at the top, western end, the rest of the top being flat.

The Caves.

This prominence is a huge mass of rock, about 75 ft. in height. Three caves (superimposed) have been hollowed out of this. These and the steps leading up to the lowermost caves are seen like a whitish line in photo. Like the cave on the western hill, these also face west.

The lowest of the three caves, reached by a flight of irregular steps, is the biggest. "Above the entrance is sculptured a small figure, sitting, with legs crossed, in the usual contemplative attitude, while on one side is a life-size standing nude Buddhist figure." The Gazetteer is wisely silent

about the other (the right) side of the entrance. This has a sad tale to tell, for one can easily see traces of an answering figure which has been destroyed. The two must have been much like the *Dwarapalakas* (Gate-keepers) carved in Hindu temples on either side of the entrance to the shrine, for the pose, at least of the surviving figure, is exactly the same; but the nudity, the short curly hair and the elongated earlobes point to non-Hindu origin.

The cave proper is a magnificent chamber about 30 ft. square. It must have been supported originally by 16 stone pillars (each about 2 ft. square and 8 ft. high, in four rows of four each. Most of the pillars have suffered in excavation, though the Gazetteer ascribes the damage to fires lit around, and the missing portions have been replaced by stucco. The two front pillars have carvings on them about half-way up (p. c. 4 ft.). Between the central pillars is a stupa, about 4 ft. high.

The cave next above consists of two chambers. The front one is 12 ft. by 4 ft. and about 7 ft. high. Seated Buddhist figures are carved above the entrance, and at the sides thereof. The main wall has a big figure of Buddha in the usual sitting posture of contemplation, surrounded by devotees, with angels hovering overhead.

The right end of this chamber leads to an inner one, about 9 ft. by 5 ft. on the walls of which are huge figures of Buddha. The central one right opposite to the entrance is the best preserved. It is much like Fig. 19, the only difference being that the hood of a cobra rises from behind and forms a canopy over the head of the Blessed One. The attendant figures of devotees represent both the sexes.

A third cave above is a small cell with a figure of Buddha on the wall. There is an inner shrine about 2 ft. square devoid of carvings on the walls.

There is a fourth cave on the northern side of the hill supported by pillars. It opens north but the image of Buddha

therein faces west as in the other caves. There is a well close by. On the southern side of the hill are a number of crowded stupas almost wholly in stucco, and two small caves (one of which has lost one side and the top) with an image each of Buddha. These, strange to say, face south, and might be later additions.

A little above the second cave is a stone pillar, seven feet high, and rectangular in section, with a bevelled top (not pyramidal). There is no writing on the stone; perhaps it has been effaced by the hand of time.

The Square Pillar.

The flat part of the hill top to the east of the dome of rock containing the triple cave, shows the basement of what must have been a grand many-pillared hall open at the sides, much like the 'Mantapams' of South Indian temples. Such halls were the places where the monastic brotherhood congregated and went through theological discourses, or the ceremony of admitting novices. All along the outer edge of the raised basement of the hall, are seen several cells of varying size, intended for the monks. It is a fact to be noted that some of these cells are narrow, so as not to admit of anything but the standing posture on the part of the occupant, and were, perhaps, intended for penance.

The Hall.

To the west of this hall are seen the pedestals of what must have been grand pillars. They were probably in the entrance verandah, for, judging by the analogy of the caves, the hall must have had its entrance at the western end.

My friend Mr. Rangaswamy Iyer, M.A., L.T. (Lecturer in History, W. A. V. N. College, Vizagapatam) is inclined to think that a well-like hollow to the east of the rock dome near the fourth cave, must have originally functioned as a water-lift. Another valued friend, Mr. Duvvuri Jagannadha Sarma (whose original articles in Telugu are well-known to readers of the Andhra

Water lift and drains.

Patrika and the Bhārati), has shown me a well-cut round hole in the western hill. A walking stick thrust in came out wet.

It is a well-known fact that a plentiful supply of water is needed for the religious rites of oriental people, especially ascetics.

Moreover, a system of beautifully constructed closed drains on the top of the eastern hill point to the use of water on the hill top. In the present dilapidated condition, the drains are open here and there. During my last visit, I saw the young one of a jackal running inside one of the drains. The calibre of the drain may thus be gauged. Had the drains been open they could be taken to have been intended for carrying off rain water. But the closed drains lead one to think water was profusely used on the hill top.

But what was the source of water-supply below? An interesting bit of evidence throws light on this. ~

If the reader will please glance at the map of Anakapalli, he will see that the present bed of the river Sārada is a couple of miles to the west of the monastery. But in the old land records of the place, the phrase *Ali-āvali Khandam* = ("the land on the *other* side of the river") is applied to the region between the present river bed and the dotted line shown passing by the monastery. This phrase which has been in use for several centuries points to the fact that the Sārada once flowed by the monastery, but has subsequently shifted its bed westward. The nature of the soil at the foot of the hills, the occurrence of sand and bits of pottery at a depth of more than 25 ft. when wells are sunk near the hills, and the fact that during the recent terrible cyclone in this district and whenever the river rises in flood, the region near the hills is the first to be inundated;—all bear additional testimony to the fact that the former bed of the Sārada passed by the monastery.

It should be here noted that the hall and cells on the top of the eastern hill, are built of brick. Each brick is nearly a

cubit long, half as broad and four and a half inches thick. The writer in the Gazetteer says: "Above all these, on the summit of the hill are a large quantity of bricks, some in position, and some scattered in every direction among the grass. It may perhaps be conjectured that these are the remains of a stupa which was built above the rock-cut temples."

But the rectangular shape of the foundation and the cells all round, belie this theory. The whole must have functioned as the congregation hall of the brotherhood.

The present name "Bojjannakonda" is meaningless, for there is no sort of connection between the
Theories of Origin. hills and the Belly-god (=Bojjanna).

The name "Kotilingams" applied to the western hill interprets the stupas as Shaivite *phalli*, and is also of later Hindu origin.

The "Palaka-devi," protecting deity, getting corrupted into "Pallaki-devi" the palanquin-riding spirit, (also a devourer of children) fit to be stoned by all devout Hindus, is also an evidence of latter-day encrustation of Hinduism. Everything about the remains points most unmistakably to non-Hindu origin.

Some hold that, in Southern India at any rate, it is difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction
(i) The Jaino-Buddhist theory. between Jain and Buddhist monuments. People of this school hold that, the word 'Bojjanna' is a corruption of 'Bodh' (=Buddh) and 'Jina' (=Jain), and hence hold that the monastery is of Jaino-Buddhist origin.

A few hold that the structure is of Jain origin, and trace the word 'Bojjanna' to two roots, viz., *Bahu*
(ii) The Jain theory. (=many) *Jina* (=Jains), i.e., lit. = "the place of many Jains." They say that the short curly hair and elongated ear-lobes bear out the theory of Jain origin.

But, it may be contended, that short hair and elongated

ear-lobes in the images are as characteristic of Buddhist, as of Jain images.

Jain architecture, judging by its most perfect specimen in Mount Abu, ought to show very elaborate designs executed with the delicacy of lacework. Such delicate work is conspicuous here by *its absence*. Here again, the Jain theorists might argue (i) that such fine work has been effaced by the hand of time, for extremes of climate are more marked in the torrid zone than the temperate; or (2) that the granite here is far too coarse to lend itself to fine workmanship. As for the alleged weathering of the rock, it may hold good in the case of the structures exposed to the sun and rain. But what about the interior of the caves? There is not even an *attempt* at fine workmanship.

But the most clinching argument against this Jain theory is the fact that the Jains never took to monastic life, so readily as the Buddhists.

The following are the arguments of those who trace the
 (iii) The Buddhist theory. ruins to Buddhist origin:—

(1) The monument is called "the Buddhist Monastery" in the District Gazetteer and other Government records.

(2) The word *Sankaram* is a corruption of the two words "Sangha+Arāma" (*lit.*=the Garden of the Brotherhood.)

(3) There are, in addition to the "Arāma" the *stuppas*, *chaityas*, and *viharas*, thus representing the four chief units of Buddhist monasteries.

(4) The cells, the water-lift and drainage prove this to have been a monastery; and monastic brotherhoods were pre-eminently Buddhist institutions.

If we transport ourselves in imagination, many centuries back into the past, to the time immediately

Conclusion.

succeeding Asoka's conquest of Kalinga (in which these hills are situated) we can see the Great Emperor commanding his humane edicts to be carved on the upright

pillar, or bowing in reverence at the feet of the monks in the congregation hall, or sitting in silent meditation before one of the figures of Lord Buddha. We can also imagine what a great centre of learning the place must have once been—a great university like Taxilla or Nalanda—whither hundreds thronged for culture, and went away having received enlightenment at the hands of the Brotherhood of the Faithful.

Will the place ever again receive the honour due to its hoary antiquity and hallowed associations? Will the Andhra University rekindle the extinguished torch of learning at this inspiring place?

These are questions for the future to solve.

B. PATTABHI RAMAIA

CHALUKYA SOMESVARA ON PAINTING

"The Oriental was first a philosopher and an artist afterwards, whereas the Westerner is an artist first and a philosopher afterwards"—is a succinct statement which explains with the brevity of a *sūtra* the basic difference that exists between Oriental and Occidental art; and it is the failure to recognise this inspiration of the indigenous art of India that has to account for the lukewarm appreciation which Indian Painting, ancient and respectable though it has been, had till recently received at the hands of art connoisseurs. But the view-point of art criticism having now changed, that painting is something more transcendental than a lifeless bundle of the rules of anatomy and of perspective, India's contribution to Aesthetics, in its spiritual side in particular, has begun to be grudgingly acknowledged even by Western savants. Though the panegyrics of the pro-Indian art-critics on each and every daub from an Indian brush do occasionally reveal a suspicious note of mere patriotism, the homogeneous combination of the dissimilar techniques of the East and the West, which the modern Bengal school of painting has achieved without sacrificing the 'Indian-ness' of its productions, marks the new epoch of an art Renaissance in India. Scholars are therefore interested in collecting and examining the literature appertaining to this interesting phase of ancient India's many-sided activities.

With Painting figuring prominently as one of the sixty-four *kalas* or accomplishments in the comprehensive syllabus of Indian culture, it was but natural that thorough, if formal, text-books should have been composed by early Indian scholars, with the exactitude that had characterized their achievements in almost all the other branches of knowledge.

A few such treatises of early date are known to us, and the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao has already utilized the material contained in the *Silparatna* and the *Amṣumadbhedā* in a masterly essay in the *Modern Review* for December 1918.

In this short paper, I propose to extract from the *Mānasollāsa*, a miscellany of the 12th century A.D., a few verses describing the elements of mural painting, such as colour-mixing, sketching, outlining, etc. Although the treatment of the subject in this treatise is only sketchy and does not go into great details, an importance attaches to the work because it claims to be the compilation of a Chālukya king named Someśvara, as can be seen from the following prefatory verses:

चालुक्यवंशतिलकः श्रीसोमेश्वरभूपतिः ।

कुरुते मानसोल्लासं शास्त्रं विश्वोपकारकम् ॥

शिल्पकः सर्ववस्तूनां जगदाचार्यपुस्तकः ।

अभ्यासोऽयं प्रयत्नेन सोमभूपेन निर्मितः ॥

This king Someśvara-bhūpati is identifiable with the third of that name who reigned from A.D. 1126 to 1138, with his capital at Kalyan, because he had the distinguishing surname of 'Bhūlokamalla,' as revealed in the colophon at the end of the first part of the book:

इति महाराजाधिराज सत्याश्रयकुलतिलक चालुक्याभरण श्रीमङ्गलोकमल
श्रीसोमेश्वर विरचिते अभिलषितार्थचिन्तामणौ मानसोल्लासे, etc.

The manuscript of the *Mānasollāsa*¹ is available only in an incomplete form in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library; but from the introductory portion which supplies the *anukramanikā* (table of contents), we get an idea as to the scope and aim of the compilation. The work is divided into five parts of a score of chapters each, so that a hundred correlated

¹ This work is being published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

subjects relating to royalty are dealt with. The five main divisions of the treatise are—

1. Rājyapṛāpti-kāraṇa,
2. Rājyasthairya-kāraṇa;
3. Bhūbhartuh Upabhogāh,
4. Vinodāh Pramodajanakāh, and
5. Kṛidāh Sukopapādikāh ;

and the twenty chapters under each of these main heads are most of them interdependent, without being distinctly separate subjects.

The half-a-century of 'common' verses extracted below refer to the art of mural painting; but they contain only a bare outline of the principles of that art. These verses are followed by an elaborate chapter on the rules for sketching the figures of gods and goddesses; but the manuscript being unfortunately much damaged at this place, I reserve its description for a future occasion.

प्रगल्भैर्भावकैस्तज्जैः सूक्ष्मरेखाविशारदैः ।
 विद्वन्निर्माणकुशलैः पत्रलेखनकोविदैः ॥
 वर्णपूरणदक्षैश्च वीरणे च कृतश्रमैः ।
 चित्रिकैर्लेखयेच्चित्तं नानावर्णसमुद्भवम् ॥
 सुधया निर्मितां भित्तिं श्लक्ष्णं क्षतविवर्जिताम् ।
 लेपयेच्चित्रकर्माथ लेपद्रव्यं प्रवक्ष्यते ॥
 माहिषं त्वचमादाय नवां तोयेन पाचयेत् ।
 नवनीतमिवायाति यावच्चिकणतां मृशम् ॥
 तं कल्कं चिकणीभूतं शलाकाः परिकल्पयेत् ।
 यत्नेन शोषयेत् पश्चाद्यावत्काठिन्यमाप्नुयुः ॥
 वज्रलेपोऽयमाख्यातश्चित्रे सर्वत्र शस्यते ।
 तं कृत्वा मृत्तिकापात्रे तोयं कृत्वा प्रतापयेत् ॥
 स तप्तो द्रवतां याति सर्ववर्णेषु तद्रवः ।
 मिश्राणीयः प्रमाणेन यथा वर्णोऽनुशस्यते ॥

आदाय सृत्तिकां खेतां वज्रलेपेन मिश्रयेत् ।
 तथा लेपं प्रकुर्वीत शुष्के शुष्के त्रिवारतः ॥
 शङ्खचूर्णं सितापिष्टं वज्रलेपसमन्वितम् ।
 आदाय सृत्तिकां लिम्पेद्यावत् सा श्लक्ष्णतां व्रजेत् ॥
 धातुनीलगिरौ जातं खेतं चन्द्रसमप्रभम् ।
 नागनाम्नैव विख्यातं शिलायां परिवेष्टितम् ॥
 मिश्रितं वज्रलेपेन समादाय च पाणिना ।
 लिम्पयेन्मृदुयोगेन स्वच्छमच्छं शनैः शनैः ॥
 पञ्चाक्षि त्रं विचित्रं च तस्यां भित्ती लिखेद्बुधः ।
 नानाभावरसैर्युक्तां सुरेखां वर्णकोचिताम् ॥
 कनिष्ठिकापरीणाहं भागद्वयसमायताम् ।
 घनवेणुसमुद्भूतां तूलिकां परिकल्पयेत् ॥
 तदग्रे ताम्रशं शङ्खं यवमात्रं विनिक्षिपेत् ।
 तावन्मात्रं बहिः कुर्याच्चिनामेरिता बुधैः ॥
 कर्जूलं भक्तसिक्थेन सृद्धित्वा कण्टकाकृतिम् ।
 वर्त्ति कृत्वा तथा लेख्यं वर्त्तिका नाम सा भवेत् ॥
 वत्सकर्णसमुद्भूतरोमाख्यादाय यत्नतः ।
 तूलिकाग्रे न्यसेत्तानि लाक्षाबन्धनयोगतः ॥
 लेखनी नाम सा प्रोक्ता सा चैव त्रिविधा भवेत् ।
 स्थूलमालेपनं कार्यं तिर्यगाङ्गितया तथा ॥
 स्थूला मध्या तथा सूक्ष्मा तथा चित्रं विरचते ॥
 अङ्कनं मध्यमा कुर्यादग्रपार्श्वनिविष्टया ॥
 सूक्ष्मया च तथा सूक्ष्मां रेखां कुर्वीत कोविदः ।
 अग्रेण चित्रको धीमांश्चित्रविद्याविशारदः ॥
 प्राणी वा यदि वाप्राणी यत्प्रमाणमपि श्रुतम् ।
 चिन्तयेत्तत्प्रमाणान्तद्वातुं भित्ती निवेशयेत् ॥
 भित्ती निवेशितस्यास्य दृश्यमानस्य चेतसा ।
 तन्मानेन लिखेत्लेखां सर्वाङ्गेषु विचक्षणः ॥
 पूर्वं किट्टेन लेख्यं स्यात् **वर्त्तिकया बुधैः ।
 आकारमाटकां लेखां विना वर्णैर्लिखेत्पुनः ॥

आकारजनितां रेखां किटवर्तिकनिर्मिताम् ।
 लिखेत्तामेव लेखन्या गैरिकोद्भव वर्णतः ॥
 पूरयेद्द्वर्णतः पञ्चात्तत्तद्रूपोचितैः स्फुटम् ।
 उज्ज्वलं प्रोन्नते स्थाने श्यामलं निम्नदेशतः ॥
 एकवर्णेऽपि तं कुर्यात्तारतम्यविभेदतः ।
 अच्छेदुज्ज्वलो वर्णः घनश्यामलतां व्रजेत् ॥
 भिन्नवर्णेषु रूपेषु भिन्नो वर्णः प्रयुज्यते ।
 मिश्रवर्णेषु रूपेषु मिश्रो वर्णः प्रयुज्यते ॥
 खेतेषु पूरयेच्छङ्खं शोणेषु दरदं तथा ।
 रक्तेष्वलक्तकरसं लोहिते गैरिकं तथा ॥
 पीतेषु हरितालं स्यात् कृष्णे कज्जलमिष्यते ।
 शुद्धा वर्णा इमे प्रोक्ताश्चत्वारश्चित्रसंश्रयाः ॥
 मिश्रान्वर्णानतो वक्ष्ये वर्णसंयोगसंभवान् ।
 दरदं शङ्खसमिश्रं भवेत्कोकनदच्छवि ॥
 अलक्तं शङ्खसमिश्रं जायते मधुकच्छवि ।
 हरितालं शङ्खयुतं **श्व सदृशप्रभम् ॥
 कज्जलं शङ्खसमिश्रं धूमच्छायं निरूपितम् ।
 नीली शङ्खेन संयुक्ता कपोताभा विराजते ॥
 राजावर्तः स एव स्यादतसीपुष्पसन्निभः ।
 केवलैव हि या नीली नीलेन्दीवरसप्रभा ॥
 हरितालेन मिश्रा चेज्जायते हरितच्छवि ।
 गैरिकं हरितालेन मिश्रितं गौरतां व्रजेत् ॥
 कज्जलं गैरिकोपेतं श्यामवर्णं निरूपितम् ।
 अलक्तकेन संस्पृष्टं कज्जलं पाटलं भवेत् ॥
 अलक्तनीलिकायुक्तं जम्बूवर्णं भवेत्स्फुटम् ।
 एवं शुद्धाश्च मिश्राश्च वर्णभेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥
 तत्तद्रूपानुसारेण पूरणीयास्तु चित्रकैः ।
 एणसारङ्गशार्ङ्गलशिखितित्तिरिकादिषु ।
 भिन्नवर्णेषु सत्त्वेषु पृथग्वर्णः प्रयुज्यते ॥

वृक्षपर्वतशस्यादि पदार्थेषु यथोचिताः ।
 भिन्नवर्णाः प्रयोक्तव्याश्चित्रकैश्चित्रकर्मणि ॥
 गौरवर्णेषु नीलेषु हरितालं पुरो न्यसेत् ।
 गौरिषु गैरिकं पञ्चान्नीलीं नीलीषु योजयेत् ॥
 क्षुरेण तीक्ष्णधारेण लेखाद्यूनाधिकां हरेत् ।
 पाण्डुरं बिन्दुजातं यत्तत्सर्वं तेन कारयेत् ॥
 पूरितं वर्णमात्रं यत्तावन्मात्रं हरेत्सुधीः ।
 मृदुघर्षणयोगेन यथासंख्या न नश्यति ॥
 रोमराजिसितां कुर्याद्रेखां नानाविधामपि ।
 वीरणैः सूक्ष्मशुण्डाग्रैः मृदुघर्षणयोगतः ॥
 सुवर्णं वर्णमत्यर्थं शिलायां परिवेष्टितम् ।
 कृत्वा काचमुये पात्रे गालयेत्तन्मुहुर्मुहुः ॥
 क्षिप्त्वा तोयं तदालोद्य निर्हरेत्तन्मुहुर्मुहुः ।
 यावच्छिलारजो याति तावत्कुर्वीत यत्नतः ॥
 घनत्वान्मसृणं हेमं न याति सह वारिणा ।
 आस्ते तदमलं हेमं बालार्करुधिरच्छवि ॥
 तत्कल्कं हेमजं स्वल्पं वज्रलेपेन लेपयेत् ।
 मिलितं वज्रलेपेन लेखिन्यग्रे निवेशयेत् ॥
 लिखेदाभरणं क्वापि यत्किञ्चिद्धेमकल्पितम् ।
 चित्रे निवेशितं हेम यदा शोषं प्रपद्यते ॥
 वराहदंष्ट्रया तत्तु घट्टयेत्कनकं शनैः ।
 यावत्कान्तिं समायाति विद्युच्चरितविग्रहाम् ॥
 सर्वचित्रेषु सामान्यो विधिरेष प्रकीर्तितः ।
 प्रान्ते कज्जलवर्णेन लिखेत्रेखां विचक्षणः ॥
 वस्त्रमाभरणं पुष्पं मुखरागादिकं सुधीः ।
 आलेन च लिखेत्पञ्चाच्चित्रं पूर्णं भवेत्ततः ॥

A PENTACLE OF POEMS

(Dedicated to a Friend.)

—And he cried,—

“Weave me a song from thy heart’s full brim.
I hearkened, and wove these songs all for him.”

• *In Simla.*

Through the mist and the mark and drizzling rain,
And the wind, that moaned like a Soul in pain,
Through the dripping trees that shuddering stood,
In the sodden mould of the darksome wood,
I rode, with a heart as heavy as lead,
For my winged hopes seemed stricken and dead !
Aware of my solitude, and the drear
Of the day, with no sunlight to cheer,
The earth and the sky as obscured as my way,
In anguish of Soul I could only pray—
“O God, my life is o’er-shadowed by night;
In pity send me just one ray of light !
The song in my heart has turned to a moan,
For in Thy High-Hills I feel so alone—
O Compassionate One, some comfort send !”
God heard, and He sent to my need—a Friend.

II

From my Window.

From the landscape window in my Simla room,
I look to the North, and the high snow range—
And the rugged, brown hills that lie between

The green dappled valley, and blue-draped crests.
And stately trees climb to the valley's brim,
Almost to the ledge of my window wide :—
There is one, a very joy and delight—
A lofty Deodar, with swaying limbs,
As gracefully fluent as dancing girl
In the court of a King ! In every breeze
Her draperies sweep in rhythmical swirl—
I fancy the Soul of a nautch-girl fair,
Is held by a charm to my Deodar,
To work out her *karma*, for some sweet sin,
And she must dance to the musical wind !
No glory of sun-set clouds e'er I see,
Nor moon-rise and wane, nor stars in their course ;
Only reflections of silver and gold,
And rose, from the West against the Hills shine.
My Soul that on beauty ever must live,
Longs for the wonders of God's firmament,
And feels not at home here, facing the North,
Where curtains of mists oft' shut out the views.
Yet, through the boughs of my Deodar tree,
The seven stars of the Great Bear I trace,
And the mariners' star, constant and true,
And guardians twain to the Polar star,
Watch from their minaret in the cold North.
By my Northern window I sit adream,
And from dreams I weave the songs that I sing.
Nought can imprison the fancy that roams
O'er all the earth in the flash of a wing !
I dance with my swaying Deodar tree,
To music of winds and cicada's call ;
And fly with the kites, slow-winging on high,
In the limitless azure of the sky !
Oh, the free Spirit triumphant can soar,
To realms supernal, and Empyrean's height,

Where the Great Artist creates His designs,
Of all that is beautiful and divine.

III

The White Cloud River.

Have you seen the white cloud river,
Flowing through the Simla Hills?
How the mystic, faith-like vision,
The imagination thrills!
Through the rugged Hills of Simla,
The cloud river flows alow,
Shining like a pearl translucent,
In the tender after-glow.
One can see slow, silver barges,
Floating down that soundless stream,
Manned by lofty, white-winged angels,
Passing as one stands adream—
Hearing distant, wondrous music,
Through the grey clouds from on high,
Where they meet and slowly sunder,
In the opalescent sky.
And one knows that white-cloud river,
From some deep spring finds its rise,
In a fragrant, fern-fringed forest,
'Mid the flowers of Paradise.

IV

One Morning in Simla.

The valley is filled with sunlight,
Like a bowl of Shiraz wine;

The Hills are all rimmed with shadows,
And the air is fresh and fine!
The trees are touched with His Glory,
And uplifted in praise above,
And the rising mist, like Angel's wings,
Is folding the world in love.
God knows, it is well worth living,
When the heart is filled with fire,
When the future calls and beckons,
And one can still aspire !
When the Cosmic Urge is filling the breast,
With yearnings vast, and divine unrest,
That drives the Soul on a Heavenly quest.

V

One Twilight In Simla.

The gold and blue of the sunset,
Veiled by a soft, tender grey,
Dull rose-pink on the horizon,
Where the afterglow melts away.
One Star climbs Heaven's high turret,
To call the faithful to prayer,—
A hush steals over all Nature,
And hushed is the evening air.
A Presence is felt in the forest,
And still grow the deodars,
Twilight intones an orison,
Telling her beads by the stars.
Then over the mist-wrapped mountains,
In dark velvet robe bedight,
Crowned by the full moon in splendour,
Comes the High-Priestess Night!

TERESA STRICKLAND

THE TRAGEDY OF DOMESTIC LIFE

*Caused by
Tubercle Bacilli and the crass ignorance of the Powers
that be, which is perpetuating it in Bengal.*

Prosperity of the national life of a country depends on various well-known factors such as productivity of soil, commerce, industry, political life, advantages of climate, etc., but there are also several unseen forces which act on the national life in shaping the well-being of the nation. Many of these are made subjects of investigation by the European nations, and their nature brought to light. Remedies based on this knowledge are being applied constantly, so that well-being of the nation is being gradually improved. For example, the action of even the sun's rays on the health of the people living in tropical country, in influencing their economic life, is being investigated and remedies based on this knowledge are being suggested and applied.

In the same way, the effect of the infectious diseases in influencing the economic life of a nation is given special importance in European countries. Intensive study of these problems has given definite knowledge of the mysteries of these infectious diseases, caused as they are by invisible germs, and remedies based on this knowledge have suggested measures, application of which has given a great impetus to the well-being of the nations concerned. For example, from a publication of the socio-medical department of Yugoslavia, we find certain statements made in the preface of the publication which will make the point clear to the readers of this article. In it, it is stated that, this nation, the youngest one in this world, having taken its birth out of the turmoils of the world war, has lost four millions of its souls, out of a total population of twelve millions, half of which was due to the enemy's action, the other half being due to infectious diseases.

The former is an occasional affair, the latter, however, is a perennial one; this has given rise to a strong desire in the nation to live healthy lives, free from all infectious diseases, in order to preserve it from extinction. Accordingly, the nation has decided to open out, throughout the country, a large number of so-called socio-medical centres for doing social service based on intimate knowledge of the mysteries of infectious diseases. By this way, they have been able to do an immense amount of benefit to the nation which otherwise would have been wiped out from the face of the earth. In complete contrast to this is the condition of the people Turkey who, in spite of the best efforts of their saviour Mustafa Kamal Pasha to save them from the clutches of the European invaders of the country, are dying inch by inch through infectious diseases, so much so, that a writer in one of the leading journals of Europe, remarked that though the sword of Kamal Pasha may be of service to preserve this nation from their European invaders for the time being, the infectious diseases which are rampant throughout the country against which no systematic attempts are being made, will surely destroy the nation in the near future. Similar is the condition of our country, where the political-minded leaders have given all their thoughts on its political regeneration: not a single thought has been spent on prevention of infectious diseases which are sapping the foundation of the nation. Statistics of our country published broadcast, showing the effects of inroads of epidemic diseases, have not yet appealed to them, so an attempt is being made here to show their baneful effect by giving particular instances. The following facts are given to show how tragedy of domestic life is being caused by one of the many infectious diseases which are rampant in the country, namely, tuberculosis or Phthisis.

Three instances will suffice. They are not isolated cases, but are selected from thousands of such occurrences which

are daily coming to my knowledge, these being typical of the cases occurring constantly in this country.

(A) A Brahmin family consisting of the head of the family, his wife, and a daughter and two boys had been living happy lives before the occurrence of the incidents noted below—the father being employed in Government Post Office. Besides, he was a sort of a small landholder, from which he used to get a decent income. He got diabetes and later on tuberculosis set in. He was treated by the best doctors of Calcutta who charged their usual fees. He died after a prolonged suffering. About this time, the writer had occasion to come to know of the family for the first time by a professional visit he paid to the family, to treat the daughter who was suffering from generalised tuberculosis. Her age was then 15; she was married. She was cruelly treated at her father-in-law's house—where she was made to do domestic duties, even when she was getting fever and had to be removed to her father's house. I found, at that time, the youngest son of the family aged about 8 suffering from tubercular glands in the neck and intestinal tuberculosis with fever and diarrhoea. The daughter died. The boy got rid of his symptoms and could be called a cured or arrested case of tuberculosis in every sense of the term. Two years intervened. The elder boy aged 16 with no outward symptoms of family infection went on carrying on his work as a coal merchant. One day he coughed out suddenly a large quantity of blood and remained bed-ridden for a fortnight or so. Positive phase of tuberculosis set in; helped by treatment, he gained in flesh and became in every respect an apparently healthy, disease-free man. Later on, he went to Rungpore to carry on rice business. He lost all his money in the business and came back home after 3 years, a broken down man, both physically and pecuniarily, he becoming skeleton of his former self. A slight evening rise of temperature started setting in, a huge enlarged abdominal gland was noticed. After four months' suffering he died. During the time he was away from Calcutta, his mother died of a chronic illness producing emaciation, nature of which could be guessed.

The youngest son (abdominal tuberculosis) is now the only surviving member of the family consisting of five souls, all of whom got tuberculosis through the infection caused by tubercle bacilli, he alone escaping. The age of the boy is now 16 years. He has not got any one to call his own—his family house is now another man's property. He is living under the roof of another man and is reading in the I. Sc. Class.

(B) An adult, aged 40 died about a fortnight ago of generalised tuberculosis—the following were the lesions at the time of death—(1) Tuberculosis of the spine (lumbar region), (2) huge enlargement of cervical, femoral and abdominal glands, (3) patchy affection of the lungs. He was literally skin and bone at the time of his death. He died at the house of his brother-in-law, who gave him shelter during his last illness, he dying a pauper and an insolvent—after an illness which began 16 years previously. With the disease in his system, he enjoyed up to 4 years before his death, a health which was not only compatible with healthy, disease-free condition, but was, it can be said without fear of contradiction, in enjoyment of more than robust health, he carrying on vigorously the business of motor car repairer, having a garage of his own employing nearly a hundred men, and a business office, with a capital of about Rs. 50,000. The first symptom of the disease which began sixteen years previous to his death and which dogged his footsteps throughout the active earning period of his life with a persistency which one cannot believe, unless the whole history of the case is unfolded before the reader's eye in its true colours. Even at that time, when he was in enjoyment of good health, he got signs of appendicitis which could be diagnosed as of tubercular origin from some symptoms and that in spite of his enjoyment of otherwise good physique. 8 or 9 years intervened between this and an illness from which he suffered which was diagnosed as typhoid fever, and treated as such. Careful examination of his chest showed that in the right side there was definite signs of pleurisy. He got over this attack and went on doing his work. Three years later, he became suddenly visibly emaciated—went for a change to Ranchi, came back, much improved. His business became a losing concern due to many causes, one of which was due to his declining health. This added to his anxiety. He had to put in extra labour. About this time, he complained of pain in the lumbar region which was diagnosed as rheumatism by his medical advisers, but which was evidently tubercular spondilitis which showed itself by a swelling in the second lumbar vertebra. This made him completely bedridden. He lost everything—became a pauper—had to give up his own house and take shelter in his brother-in-law's house who was by no means in affluent circumstances. Treatment in which complete rest and open air were the main features stopped the fever for the time being and the pain subsided. He gained in flesh. He could walk about, went for a change to Benares, but as he was obliged to live in a dark ill-ventilated room owing to pecuniary difficulty, he got back

his old complaint. The glands in the neck, groin and abdomen—became enlarged and he died of tubercular peritonitis.

Incidentally, it is necessary to mention that the brother-in-law who has got a house quite separate from him and who gave him shelter, suffered 8 years previously from severe haemoptysis and fever and lesions of lung (tuberculosis of lung) and is now in enjoyment of perfect health.

(C) The next case is of a family in affluent circumstances, living in a well ventilated house in not a crowded part of Calcutta, in which the head of the family was the source of infection. In this, out of eight sons and two daughters—all died of tuberculosis within the course of eight or ten years, except one son and a daughter,—the only surviving son of the family has since sold the house and is now living in a rented house.

Are not these occurrences, which I come across in my practice very often, so many real tragedies in the domestic life of our people? Are they not preventable? Teachings of science and common sense say that these are as much preventable as deaths occurring in a village due to giving in of an embankment or depredations of wild animals. It has been prevented and the inroads of the disease has been kept under control in most of the European countries. To do so, all that is necessary is co-ordinate preventive work based on sympathy by the community for the sufferers among the less fortunate members of their society. As the disease does not spare even the persons in most affluent circumstances, it is necessary that the stiff attitude, due to their accidental position in life, of the wealthy men ought to be relaxed a little for their own benefit, and the undue fear of infection which begets unsympathetic attitude of men in power should give place to sympathy, based on knowledge that the disease is ubiquitous, being present in every walk of life from the highest to the lowest. In the Brahmin family which has been literally rooted out, the elder brother could certainly have been saved, if he had been assured of a living by which he could earn money, without much arduous labour. In the second

case, the patient died through his ignoring the disease which was dogging him throughout the best part of his earning life. In the third case, the only way the family could have been saved was by breaking up the family at the very beginning of the onset of the disease. But how much unsympathetic attitude of men in power—explainable by their undue fear of infection—is preventing any anti-tuberculosis scheme being put into effect, thereby perpetuating the very infection, which they are dreading, is given below.

In some cases, the actual sufferer from tuberculosis is instrumental in preventing any anti-tuberculous scheme being put into effect—it is something like an undetected sufferer from leprosy, using all his influence and position in society, in preventing starting a leprosy isolation or treatment house in his neighbourhood, from fear of his getting the infection. These are given below, not for study of peculiarity of mentality of men in power but for showing what actual hindrance is being caused in this country in the path of prevention of tuberculosis by their action. These are as follows:

One day the writer approached a big Zamindar, in whose family tuberculosis is so much rampant, that he has to make special arrangement for a bed for his dependants in the Bhowali King Edward Sanatorium, with a view to getting some uninhabited land full 8 miles away from the place where he lives, for a village settlement for tuberculous patients. It was proposed that only the early and non-infective cases of tuberculosis who can earn their livelihood by being not overworked will settle there, they getting the land on some advantageous terms, so that they will not have to put in strenuous labour to earn their livelihood. It will be a sort of a Papworth village settlement for early tuberculosis cases. The Raja, after my purpose was explained to him, was at first very willing to help forward this movement. At that very time, a medical practitioner, who was formerly the Zamindar's medical officer, accidentally came into the room and having learnt of our mission advised the Raja not to give us the land, as it will prove to be a source of infection to his family. The curious part of the affair is that the Doctor himself was a declared case of tuberculosis for

years past, as he was suffering from chronic tubercular pleurisy at that very time—he, six months later, dying of severe haemoptysis fever and other symptoms of galloping phthisis.

2. Another Zamindar, living in a salubrious laterite soil, supposed to be a health resort where large numbers of tuberculous cases flock for the sake of their health without any hindrance, lost one of his nephews from tuberculosis and two others had haemoptysis and other symptoms of tuberculosis. He was approached by me on a similar mission—my introduction being obtained through his two nephews who were my grateful patients. A letter was received from the Maharaja, agreeing to my proposal. The proposal had, however, to be given up by the Maharaja withdrawing his offer on account of the inhabitants of the place, most of whom are tuberculous, objecting on the score of infection.

3. Sometimes ago, an executor of a trust fund proposed, on the advice of the writer whose opinion he sought, to establish a sanatorium on approved lines for a limited number of people having a moderate income on the sea beach at Puri, full one mile distant from the houses situated on the beach which are let out mostly without any hindrance to declared tuberculosis cases. Permission of Government of India for making the land freehold in order to be given over free to the Committee for the establishment of the sanatorium, on condition that it will be a public property, was obtained without much difficulty. The executor was willing to spend at the start Rs. 36,000 and the value of the Government gift amounted to Rs. 10,000. It was almost going to be started when objection was raised from the official quarters on the ground that Puri would get infected by the inmates of the Sanatorium for which the project had to be given up.

Recently, the writer had to draw up a scheme for village settlement on Papworth system for early non-infective tuberculosis cases, at the instance of the Hon'ble Minister, Behar Government, to be situated in an absolutely uninhabited hilly tract in Chota Nagpur Division, situated at a greater distance from Ranchi than the Itki tuberculous home for declared cases of tuberculosis which has been started by the missionaries. In this scheme, it was provided that the cases will be properly selected and scrutinised by three representative committees stationed at Cuttack, Calcutta and Patna, before admission

—so that only the early, non-infective cases will be sent there—the people will make their own arrangements for living there and for earning their livelihood. Objection was raised by the authorities on the ground that it will infect the hilly tracts and advice was thrown out gratuitously by the Government officer dealing with the scheme that the writer should seek some sub-Himalayan tracts for creation of his village settlement. O for a drop of human sympathy! O for a grain of common sense! O for a ray of enlightened intelligence—I am certain if these men in authority were in charge of administration in England, they would certainly have advised the Committee who established the village settlement for declared infective tuberculosis cases at Papworth, and many others who have established sanatoriums for tuberculosis throughout the length and breadth of England, to establish them somewhere in Shetland Islands or better still in Polar lands now in the process of discovery by Captain Amundsen and not in England, for fear of infecting the people in England!

It is needless to state that this opposition based on undue fear of infection, while infection is present among the very staff who daily come in contact with these officers, not to speak of the towns like Ranchi, Puri, Cuttack and Patna, where they are stationed, being hopelessly infected with tuberculosis, is preventing creation of organised attempts to fight against the disease and is helping in perpetuating the infection. I do not know when dawn of commonsense will be seen to rise in the horizon of this doomed country of ours. I will conclude my paper by giving a few typical instances of unsuspected presence of infection of tuberculosis amongst the highest circles, which have come to my personal knowledge and which has been gathered during my professional duties, showing how absurd it is to bury underground the infection by ignoring its existence, while it exists everywhere.

For obvious reason, I will withhold, for preventing identification, the names of the parties.

First Example—

An Englishman was an executive Engineer in charge of one of the Government Calcutta Public Works Divisions. In his circle was included Eden Gardens and the Maidan. He was a declared tuberculosis case and later on died of it—his sputum showed millions of tubercle bacilli each of which, if it finds a suitable soil, is capable of giving phthisis to a man. His condition was not known to any of his superiors. He must have come in contact in connection with his duties with the highest officials in the province, who did not know his condition.

Second example—

A European professor lecturing to students—getting a salary of Rs. 2,500 a month is, at present, carrying on his duties in one of the Government colleges of the metropolis. He comes of a terribly infected family. He had haemoptysis and has got all the evidences of tuberculosis in a quiescent state.

Third example—

A general manager of a big caterer of refreshments, having numerous branches throughout India, which is a European concern and patronised by Europeans and Maharajas, showed signs of breakdown of his health, on account of strenuous labour at the time of the King's visit to India—sample of his sputum showed numerous tubercle bacilli. He died of it later on in Switzerland. One can easily imagine, whether the high administrators, in taking refreshments at the hotel of which the manager was in charge, were not in danger of catching infection.

Fourth example—

A European proprietress of a famous circus lately touring throughout India is a hopeless consumptive case. She insists on being present among the audience, at its evening performances. I saw her occupying, without the least objection from any one, one of the compartments of one of the most fashionable hotels in Calcutta.

GOPALCHANDRA CHATTERJI

SOME CHANNELS OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN BENGAL

One of the greatest changes in modern Bengal has been the influx of new ideas due to its contact with the West. This has been one more proof, if proof were needed, that ideas and literary ideals are universal property. The thoughts which Shakespeare, Socrates, Goethe, Tolstoy and Hugo breathed—their thoughts and feelings are shared by thousands living to-day poles asunder from one another. Far from being viewed with suspicion and distrust, such exchange of beautiful sentiments and worthy observations is held to be productive of nothing but good results. When a literature seeks to acquire fresh strength, such new vigour must come to it through contact with some other literature, preferably younger. Viewed from this point, the influence of the West on the literature of Bengal has been highly beneficial and it presents an interesting aspect for study. We propose to discuss in the following pages some channels of this influence.

In the Law Courts.

One of the important centres of influence in social life is the Law Court which as civilisation advances, seems to be as necessary as human nature's daily food and where even people who would have been otherwise untouched by new ideas pick them up as they seek the 'legal' redress of their grievances. The unsettled nature of Bengal, or for that matter, India, in the latter half of the eighteenth century was in striking contrast to the spectacle which it now presents. (This is true even in the face of the Hindu-Moslem riots of to-day.) There was no *uniformity* of legal procedure in the country prior to the British rule; and this was a great disadvantage both for the people and the rulers, spe

the latter, as, for the successful administration of the land they required a knowledge of the peculiar manners and customs of very small areas. In some cases, the local Panchayat had its full sway; the priesthood, like the clergy in England, who were not easily deprived of their legal benefit, was held sacred; the minor officials in ordinary cases used their authority in legislating within their own boundaries; the transit duty was regulated, so to say, without any regulation; every powerful zemindar used his own authority and extorted tolls from his own grounds. Cow-slaughter might be a crime under a Hindu ruler; not so when the power belonged to a Muhammadan. When on the 5th August, 1775, Nanda Kumār had paid the extreme penalty to law and was hanged actually, it came as a rude shock to Bengal to find a Brahmin so "scurvily" used: many immediately left Calcutta and swam to the other side of the Ganges as they would no more live in British territory where they said, the rights of the Brahmins were not at all respected. Nothing could better illustrate the disparity that existed in those days in the legal procedure of the two countries.

On their first coming to power, the English were not very eager to implant English institutions on the soil of India; they would take their cue from the Pundits and the Maulvies and enforce the decision given by these. But the Pundits and the Maulvies might be led by sinister influences; not even an intimate knowledge of the law books of the country could prevent it; and intimate knowledge could not be reasonably expected from every one of the Company's servants. Hence, as time passed on, the Government felt it its duty to legislate; the guiding idea being that "it is a primary and essential duty of every just government towards its subjects to publish and enforce an equitable system of law adapted to their actual condition and circumstances." The proposed code would, therefore, have to consider the actual condition of the people and the circumstances of the country, to take into account

the principles of equity and to examine how far it was possible and expedient to make any great change.

The compilation of the Penal, Civil and Criminal Code was the result of nearly a century's deliberation. As early as 1785, Sir William Jones, the illustrious founder of the Asiatic Society, proposed to compile a digest on the model of the Pandects of Justinian. But nothing was done, though the necessity of giving uniform laws to the extensive dependencies of the British Empire in India had been long felt and recognised.

In the middle of 1835, the Indian Law Commission was appointed for the purpose. It will not be out of place to note here how Macaulay in his attempt to abolish legal inequalities between Europeans and Indians was assailed with opposition. His object was to remedy a great defect in Section 107 of the Charter of 1813, and at the special request of the Governor-General in Council, with the unanimous approval of the Indian Law Commissioners, the Act XI of 1836, was passed. From his official correspondence in this connection, the following passages may be cited as illustrative of his mentality at this time :

"The principle on which we proceeded was that the system ought, as far as possible, to be uniform: that no distinction ought to be made between one class of people and another, except in cases where it could be clearly made out that such a distinction was necessary to the pure and efficient administration of justice."

"On what ground is it that we are to make a distinction between the Englishmen and the Natives? On what ground are we to say that an inferior kind of justice, such as can be procured from dependent judges, is good enough for a hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, but that we must have a purer sort for a handful of our countrymen?"

In paragraph 23, of his last Minute on the subject, we come across the following :

"I am not desirous to exempt the English settler from any evil under which his Hindu neighbour suffers. I am sorry that there should be such

evils, but, while they exist, I wish that they should be felt, not only by the mute, the effeminate, the helpless, but by the noisy, the bold and the powerful."

In paragraph 26, of the same document he writes sarcastically :

"We were enemies to freedom because we would not suffer a small white aristocracy to domineer over millions."

At the close of 1837, the Indian Law Commission submitted their reports with the Drafts of laws which they had prepared. But such was the magnitude of the task, the responsibility of carrying out their suggestions so great that it was considered necessary to benefit by the experience and deliberations of the judicial officers of all parts of the British Empire, before taking any legislative action. The Royal Commissioners in London submitted their reports in 1845, 1855, and 1856. All the plans and suggestions that had been received on the subject were revised by the Hon'ble Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court—and his report was ready by the end of 1856. In that year was read for the first time in the Legislative Council his Act for supplying the British Government in India with a new Penal Code—a code of Civil and Criminal Procedure, which proposed to weld all the "jarring, bewildering outgrowth of Hindu, Mussalman, Company's and common law" into one uniform system.

The effect of this on the country can be felt in the growing sense of democracy and the tendency to abolish all privileges attaching to particular situations in life—whether acquired by birth or worth; to view man as man, devoid of any extraneous accomplishment.

One indirect result of the law courts may be mentioned here. There was resuscitation of the Sanskrit Smṛti Literature in the nineteenth century which seems to have been due to the impulse for training Hindus in their own laws and customs prior to their Westernisation, whence to Christianity

was, it was thought, but a step. Our proposition finds support in the introduction to the "Smṛtidarpan" which was compiled by Viśwanāth Mittra in 1858 and revised by Mahāmahopādhyāya Thākurdās Tarkachūdāmanī.

প্রথমেই পরদেশীয় শাস্ত্র অভ্যাস করাইতে যত্নবান হয়েন তদুপলক্ষে বালক সকল সেই দেশীয় আচার ব্যবহারে নিপুণ হয় সেই ধর্মের মতাবলম্বী হইয়া স্বজাতীয় ধর্মের আচার ব্যবহার পরিত্যাগ পূর্বক অনেকেই জাতিভ্রষ্ট হইতেছেন, মনুষ্যেরা এই কারণের প্রতি দৃষ্টিপাত না করিয়া ভিন্নধর্ম্মাশ্রিতগণের উপর এই দোষ রটনা এবং নিন্দা করেন যে তাঁহারা আমাদের ধর্ম্মনষ্ট করিতেছেন ; কিন্তু আপনারা ইহার মূলীভূত যে হইয়াছেন তাহা বিবেচনা করেন না ।

The other great change in the law courts was the discontinuance of Persian and Urdu and the adoption of Bengali as the court language. The continuance of Persian and Urdu up to the regime of Lord William Bentinck seems to be due to the then Civilians being fond of using that sort of phraseology as a result of their grounding in those languages. Bengali replaced them but still the language of the law courts is a corrupt form abounding in words and phrases which point unmistakably to their Persian source. Such language is peculiar to the province of law and is not in use in any other department. The importance of this will be recognised when it is remembered how far the English courts of law went to raise the East Midland dialect to the position of the standard language of England.

We find thus that in the law courts also there were influencing causes, that the codification of the Civil and Criminal Procedure helped to foster the growth of a sense of unity and of democracy in the ideas of the people ; that the discontinuance of Persian meant more importance, at any rate less neglect, of the Bengali language. When we think of the place which law holds in the minds of people, we may appreciate in a just measure the influence of the courts in moulding the thoughts of Bengal.

The Press as a Vehicle of Western Thought.

The press has been one of the active agencies which have helped very much in the dissemination of new ideas and in discussing the gateways of Western influence it comes up next for consideration.

1778 is the year of the introduction of the Bengali typography. In that year Sir Charles Wilkins, the noted Sanskrit scholar, made a set of Bengali types with his own hands and taught the art later on to Panchanan, an Indian blacksmith. From that day to this is a far cry. The printing press has been a powerful weapon in the hands of the people, and has brought about nothing short of a revolution in the matter of literary production which has been increased manifold due to its extensive and strenuous working. In the days when it was unknown, even works of great merit could have but a very narrow circulation, confined only to particular localities. Many poets would try their hands at the same subject, and thus there would be numerous versions of the *Dharmamangal*, or the *Manasamangal*, the results of a battle of literary skill. All this has been changed, and encroachment on a subject treated already by some other writer is comparatively a rarity; "to fresh woods and pastures new" the modern authors would go. This has to a great extent been due to the agency of the press and the extensive circulation of the printed matter.

In the earlier days, the purpose of the newspapers was served by the bazar gossip. There was a State Intelligence Department under the Mughals but it ceased to live with the disruption of the Empire; moreover, it was for the use of the State, not of the people, who were then ignorant of their rights and non-existent as a political power in the land. 'Private newspapers' (they can only be so termed by a stretch of imagination) in manuscripts were circulated for the spread of news. The absurdities thus made current, either

intentionally or otherwise, could neither be checked nor corrected. It is said that Lt.-Col. Sir William Sleeman found the system in vogue in Oudh in 1849-50 and the *Akhbars* did much mischief even in the Mutiny days. . But these hardly deserve to be called newspapers as we understand them to be in modern days.

In speaking of the creation of the Bengali newspaper it should be borne in mind that the idea first came from the Missionaries of Serampore who, along with other educational measures, started the *Dig-darsan* and later on, the *Samachar Darpan* on May 23, 1813. At first it was feared that the Government, so very impatient of criticism, would be hostile to it but the then Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, wrote a personal letter of encouragement to the projector expressing his entire approval. "It is salutary for the supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny." At this time there were English papers in Calcutta—*Hickey's Gazette*, *The Indian Gazette*, *The Bengal Harkara*, *The Calcutta Gazette*—and these must have suggested the idea and the form to the Serampore group. The *Bengal Gazette* which has been referred to by many scholars of note as the first newspaper in Bengali is not available and its authenticity rests on the solitary and very doubtful authority of Rev. Mr. Long. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was not slow in taking up the idea of a newspaper as an efficient medium for propaganda and the orthodox party followed suit and there was waged a war of words in the third decade of the nineteenth century in the vernacular press over the question of religious creed—the Christian, the liberal Hindu, and the orthodox or *Sanatan* views being freely expressed in the *Darpan*, the *Kaumudi* and the *Chandrika*. Abuse and rancour found full vent. The next decade saw the birth of ephemeral papers, prompted by the teachings of Derozio, and engaged in discussions about the Eternal Truth—the *Sambād-Prabhākar's* being

the only remarkable advent. This was the organ of Iswar Gupta,

“সাঁহার প্রভায় প্রভা পায় প্রভাকর”

and at whose hands Bankim and Dinabandhu received their first lessons in literary composition. The fifth decade is an important one from the fact that Akshaykumar by means of the *Tattwabodhini Patrikā* was “Indianizing European Science.” He filled the columns of the *Patrika* with topics of a cosmopolitan interest and the comment of the *Nababārsiki* (1214 B. S.) deserves to be quoted—

বঙ্গীয় যুবকমণ্ডলীর ভাব ও চিন্তার গতি ইনি যে পরিমাণে পরিচালিত করিয়াছেন, এপর্যন্ত আর কোনও ব্যক্তি সেরূপ পারিয়াছেন কি না সন্দেহ।
(১৮৯ পৃঃ)

The second half of the last century saw the Indian press—or rather, the press in Bengal—both English and Vernacular, recognised as a power when Harish Mookerjee’s *Hindu Patriot* was the only paper supporting Canning’s clemency policy and when the *Somaprakāsh*, comparatively unnoticed, went on in its way bringing to the Bengali reader the political ideals that moved Mazzini, Garibaldi and their countrymen, teaching the people to have faith in themselves and dwelling on the ultimate triumph of political liberty for all people. We should mention here the *Bibidhartha Samgraha* of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, which was published under the auspices of the Vernacular Literature Society. In the seventh decade and the next, various papers which made a name either at once or afterwards were issued propagating political ideas or religious views. It was in the eighth decade however, that the *Bangadarsan* came out under the distinguished editorship of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee; even the very first issue bore ample evidence that there was a new spirit in literature—scientific curiosity, serial novel, stray poem, critical notice, humorous article—

all find a place and the *Sraban* issue contains an essay on the philosophy of Comte. Of the periodicals that have appeared from the *Bangadarsan* to the *Prabasi*, it may be said that their name is legion and that they have been working as bureaus of miscellaneous information and necessarily of Western ideas.

It will be wide of the mark for our purpose to do more than simply refer to the Acts of 1835, 1857 and 1878, to narrate how and when and to what extent the Vernacular Press Act has been repealed or strengthened, to dwell on how the Government exercised in the past strict censorship whenever it thought necessary and shipped off undesirable editors to England, as we see from the cavalier treatment meted out to Mr. Fair of the *Bombay Gazette* by Mr. Elphinstone, and to Mr. Douane in Calcutta towards the close of the last century. But it is necessary to remember that in 1835 Sir Charles Metcalfe repealed the press regulations, subjecting papers and books to the ordinary laws of the land; it is necessary to remember his generous views on the press as a free institution:

"If the argument be, that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British Empire, by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease.....We are, doubtless, here, for higher purposes; one of which is to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilisation, the arts and sciences of Europe over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people. Nothing, surely, is more likely to conduce to these ends than the liberty of the Press."
—*Kaye's Life of Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. II, pp. 262-64.

The press has thus acted both as a free institution in itself, and as an effective means of education; it has furthered the cause of education through schools and colleges by supplying them with necessary books. The press was a

corollary to the Western education; the relation between the two is of interdependence. Its importance as a free institution in the domains of politics and of thought can hardly be over-estimated.

Environment.

The agencies actively at work in disseminating the ideas and literary forms of the West in Bengal have been enumerated. It now remains for us to take stock of the fact that besides these the Western ideas had been penetrating into the minds of the people even through byways and unseen avenues. After so many years of British influence we may venture to assert that the Bengali temperament itself had been affected; may be it will get rid of this Western impress in course of time but in the meantime the presence of the stamp cannot be ignored.

Whoever lives in the towns receives more or less the new touch; imperceptibly perhaps, but none the less surely. Novelty has its charm. Due to the personal contact with the English the Bengali temperament has been subjected to change. This personal contact or personal experience is possible when there are Europeans living near about; and it is possible in towns. From towns the new mode or the latest fashion will penetrate into the villages but the process will be slow. The large number of towns now in existence in British India due to economic reasons, has tended to make this influence of great consequence; otherwise, in pre-British days on account of the small number of towns, the influence would have been comparatively of little consequence. Then again, the opening of railways, etc., has made communication exceedingly easy and the news of any change travels apace even from province to province.

The political situation makes the Bengali mind naturally subservient to everything British. It will be, I trust,

quite relevant to quote here the words of Keshab Chandra Sen :

“ Politically and intellectually, England is our master. We have been brought up in the school of English thought, and have been inoculated with Western ideas and sentiments.” (*Lectures in India*: p. 50) [Vidyasagar also used to say ‘খেতে বস্বে শুতে সব বিষয়ই ইংরাজ শ্রেষ্ঠ।’ (পুরাতন প্রসঙ্গ)]

This respectful attitude made the mind prone to adopt British ways of doing things. We may note the change in the matter of sports—which go a long way to determine our tastes ; the *Mogalpathan*, the *Dandaguli*, the *Bulbul*-flight have fallen in disuse ; and crowds would gather to-day on the football field or on the tennis ground. Even indoor games are—growingly imported from overseas. Such terms as referee, goal, back, in, out, umpire, foul are household words now. Merely to listen to schoolboys’ talk might mean the imbibing of Western ideas ; it was thus that Sambhuchandra picked up much when on his way to school by listening to the discussion in a friend’s house over Butler’s Analogy, Milton’s Paradise Lost and Shakespeare’s Works. English is in favour in the Public Services ; whoever wishes to prosper in Government employ must be well grounded in the language and all possible acquaintance with English life. The change manifests itself on occasions when it is least expected ; even strictly orthodox families on the occurrence of a bereavement send out cards to their friends printed with black borders in token of their loss. The change of taste was seen in Ram Comul Sen—the leader of the orthodox party in all matters of social reform but at the same time an enthusiast in the cause of education—when he became a zealous member of the District Charitable Society and issued a circular letter to the wealthy Bengalis pointing out the evil effects of indiscriminate charity and the risks (from a sanitary point of view) to which alms-giving is exposed.

It is needless to dwell on this at greater length. It will be clear from the above, it may be hoped, that the question of

environment is not negligible as a channel for conveying western ideas.

Thus we have seen how the Western ideas were imported to Bengal, and noted some of the various channels for the influence that was, and is still being, exerted on the literature of the people.

The College of Fort William, established with a different purpose in view, contributed materially to this end by providing the language with its first Dictionary and compiling Readers for the use of beginners.

We have noted in a former issue of this *Review* the various steps successively taken in spreading the new education; the Government inaugurated definite policies and pioneer work was also done by the Missionary Societies, notably, by the Serampore group and Rev. Mr. Duff, and by other agencies.

There were numerous clubs or societies or associations, some of them have been described at length in the April number of the *Review* while others have been merely mentioned by name.

The various religious, social and political movements of the period have had their share in conveying Western ideas to Bengali life which was further subjected to these influences in the Law Courts.

Last, though not the least, the press has been fully utilised as a vehicle of Western ideas—and it is an influence by itself in the direction of freedom of thought and expression.

We must not overlook the extensive influence exerted by environment, and the byways of education—in the broad sense of the term—should be briefly considered. Through all these channels the new wave has acted on the Bengali mind, and produced changes in the form and spirit of the Bengali literature.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

IN THE PAST

In the past was the dawn like to this ?
The world slowly opened lotus-like,
And gave forth its perfume of bliss
And a marvel like music did strike !

In the past was the world in the stress
Of spirit-crossing heart-wearying strife,
Were hoardings of hope so much less
Than grumblings and grindings of life ?

Was joy never rarer than gold,
And sorrow scarce entered the soul,
Were men so much honest and bold
That gods even took on men's rôle !

Who spurns not such childlike faith ?
And yet when we sigh for our lot,
We'd rather in the past draw our breath
Than call ourselves happy when we're not.

Their murmurs and griefs are now hushed,
They are the true heirs of all time,
The sun was a friend they could trust,
And the moon a sweet mate of their prime.

The storm of their lives has blown o'er,
Are gone, too, the jarrings of all strife,
And out from the far distant shore
We hear the sweet laughter of life.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE

SARACENIC COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

II.

Specialisation in industries and their localisation in cities became the special features of the Moorish industrial Revolution. The processes were almost akin to those of modern industry excepting the application of coal and iron on a large scale. Concentration of population was also effected and labourers were employed in large numbers for large-scale production. Cordova, for instance, specialised in woollen and silk weaving and had engaged 13,000 weavers in several factories.¹ It is, of course, yet to be determined how far division of labour was carried into effect. It seems generally that the Moors aimed more at specialisation by industry than by process. But it is also likely that the Moors who could export immense quantities of finished products had also resorted to some sort of division of labour—rather distribution of different processes among different hands.

Of the specialised industries some may be briefly noted here. Metallurgy was prominent among industries. With it was also associated mining of gold, silver and other metals for providing raw materials. Dr. Crichton says :—

“The moors had arrived at considerable perfection in the manufacture of various kinds of hardware. Their skill was known to every civilised nation in the world.”

The blades of Mushraf, Damascus, were not more renowned in the East than the swords of Granada and Toledo in the West. The temper of the Spanish arms was held in the highest repute; that country being ‘the arsenal which supplied Europe and Africa with cuirasses, bucklers, casques, scimitars

¹ Dr. Crichton, *History of the People of Arabia*, p. 433.

and daggers.'¹ The celebrated Alkendi among his numerous works, produced a treatise on the different kinds of swords, in which the perfections of the metal are particularly discussed; and another on the art of preparing steel in such a manner that the edge of the weapon could neither be broken nor blunted. The superb vases in the Alhambra are the exquisite proof of their skill in the manufacture of porcelain. Armourers of Seville were famous for their coats of mail and armours inlaid and embossed with gold. Swords of Toledo were considered unapproachable for the elegance of their chasing, the keenness of their edge and the fineness of their temper. The founders' art, particularly exemplified in the casting of ponderous pieces of metal, was practised with a surprising degree of skill. Cordova had at least one establishment of this description—the results of which appear, from museums of Europe, to have been as complete and satisfactory as in the perfected processes of the present day.²

The treatment of metals was chief among the branches of mechanical industry in which the Moors excelled. The casting of bronze, especially in large pieces—an art requiring the greatest skill even in our day—they understood to perfection. Not only statuary but utensils for worship as well as for domestic use—lamps, censers, vases, knives, cups and hundreds of other articles were produced by this convenient process. An exquisite Arab vase was for several centuries used in the baptismal ceremony of the infant princes of France. Arabic lamps, none of which has survived to-day were of various metals, gold, silver, copper or bronze.

In addition to metals, glass of different colours was manufactured. At Almeria were manufactured articles of gilded and decorated glass; the method of its production which was carried by the Moors to Sicily—their colony—and thence to Italy, is now possessed in its perfection by the Venetians

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, p. 432.

² Scot, History of the Moorish Empire.

alone. Ibn Firnas of Cordova according to Al-Makkari in 9th century, invented a method for manufacturing looking glasses, various kinds of chronometers and a flying machine. There were also manufactured exquisite enamels and vases of rock crystal. The Moorish Jewellers of Granada were the most celebrated in Europe. Among the specimens of their handiwork is mentioned a necklace containing 400 pearls each worth 150 Dinars (1 Dinar=Rs. 55). *Malaga* specialised in pottery and ceramic manufactures—most of which was disposed of in Syria and Constantinople. *Paterna* in Valencia carried the ceramic art to great perfection and Almeria produced glass as well as many kinds of bronze and iron vessels.¹

Another manufacture in which also they pre-eminently excelled was that of tanning, currying and dyeing leather, which, though lost almost by the expulsion of the Moors, was transferred to Fez. The skins were stained with green, blue or scarlet, of the liveliest tints, for which a peculiar sort of wood (a herb formerly cultivated for the blue dye derived from its leaves) was used and finished with such a degree of brilliancy as to resemble varnish. The art was afterwards carried to England, where the terms Morocco and Cordovan are still applied to leather prepared after their mode. Cordova was the home of all kinds of leather industry. It is from here that the enamelled leather was exported to Europe and Africa and to the East.

Most important of all was textile industry. The various kinds of textile fabrics manufactured by the Moors embraced every species of stuffs and every style of pattern. Silk goods were more in demand as articles of export. The culture and manufacture of silk was regarded by the Caliphs of Spain with peculiar favour. It was, by special provision of the law, exempted from taxation and the cultivation of mulberry trees was further encouraged by bounties. The city of Jaen,

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III.

besides the valleys of Granada, Valencia and Almeria, was the centre of 3,000 hamlets exclusively devoted to the lucrative industry of sericulture and silk manufacture. As a result, silk was a common material in Spain while it was elsewhere in Europe one of the rarest commodities and a commercial curiosity. It is to be noted here that Spain was not the natural home of silk, nor was any other part of Europe. It is said that Rome cultivated it after having brought it from the Persians who obtained it from China. At any rate, silk was acclimatised by the Moors in Spain: They seem to have been well accomplished in the art of acclimatisation. Water power was used to drive machinery in all the textile manufacturing centres of Andalusia province. In the time of Ferdinand and Isabella looms were still operated by means of water power at Cordova. Rapid streams of Spain were utilised by the Moors for irrigating cotton and mulberry fields. The woollen and silk weaving was centred in Cordova, Malaga and Almeria. The superiority of woollens of *Cuenca* and the cottons of *Beja* was undisputed. The irregular mountain slopes of Spain were made use of for sheep-raising. Raw wool was abundantly available. It was the policy of the Moors to solve the problem of raw materials and food-stuffs first. For every industry they found a source of raw materials within their own empire and consequently they transformed it economically into a self-sufficient whole. The River Valleys were subjected to the cultivation of wheat and by a State policy wheat could not be exported to foreign countries; rather it was stored in stone granaries underneath the earth to avert future shortage of supply. Scot says, "As the Quran explicitly forbade the exportation of grain, the surplus of harvests was deposited in subterranean granaries hewn in the rock. Wheat in perfect condition was found near Granada after two centuries."¹ In modern times many countries

¹ Scot, Moorish Empire, p. 608.

have often restricted the export of food-stuffs by prohibitory laws of taxation.

Bocayrente produced a linen fabric of gossamer lightness which resembled the meshes of a spider's web in strength and in delicacy. The silken gauzes and sumptuous caparisons of Granada were sent as presents to kings. In its *Alcaiceria* or silk market, were 200 shops for the exclusive sale of that staple. Edifices built for the transactions of business in Granada resembled palaces in their splendour. Its tapestries and brocades were wonderful specimens of the weavers' skill and their designs were subsequently used as models by the artisans of Italy and France. In the perfection of their textile fabrics they demonstrated their infinite superiority to all contemporaneous nations. Modern science with all its improvements has never been able to equal in strength and delicacy of texture, the products of the Moorish looms of the Peninsula. The industry of dye manufacture flourished as an associative industry along with textile industries. The dye manufacturers attained an extraordinary skill in ensuring splendid permanence of the dyes. The manuscripts the Moors have left bear clear testimony to the fact. The ink of various colours, as the writers needed for the perfection of the art of calligraphy, has not yet faded and has well stood the vicissitudes of climate of centuries. "The art of dyeing black with indigo" was the invention of the Moors.¹ Andalusia and *Valencia* produced raw cotton and in Salamanca also was localised cotton-weaving industry. *Salamanca* was generally noted for her linens as *Segovia* for her woollens, *Granada* for her silks and *Almeria* for her damasks. It is of course to be observed that no one industry was particularly localised in a single city; rather every city was devoted to the specialisation in as many different articles as there were advantages for their manufactures; so that every city might be largely self-sufficient.

Dr. Crichton, *Arabian People*, p. 433 ff.

Of the notable manufactures, paper was by no means the least important. Paper mills were established at *Xativa*. The product of those mills was famous throughout the East. It was annually exported in large quantities. It was manufactured out of thread. Books were greatly loved by the Moors. The art of calligraphy was regarded by them as the "golden profession." Large-scale manufacture of varieties of paper made the production of books in large numbers easy. The trade in books held a high rank in the commercial world. Its profits corresponded with its mercantile importance and in the time of Al Hakem II the book-sellers in Cordova alone numbered more than 20,000. Amirs, Sultans and Caliphs were the great purchasers of books. They had splendid Libraries all over the Moorish Empire. The evidence is clear from the contents of several Libraries such as that of Mostandir, the Sultan of Egypt, contained 80,000 volumes; that of the Fatimites of Cairo contained one million volumes, that of Tripoli 200,000 volumes; that of the Caliph, Al Hakem II had 600,000 volumes. In Spain there were 70 very big public libraries and private libraries were numerous. The contrast becomes shocking when we find four centuries afterwards only few books in Christian Europe excepting those in the monasteries; the Royal library of France contained only 900 volumes. In the 13th century when Baghdad was sacked by the Mongols, the books cast into the Tigris completely covered its surface and their ink dyed its water black, while a far greater number was committed to the flames.

The Caliphs of Spain introduced a good system of education. Every mosque had a school and a library attached to it. Every city had hundreds of mosques. Under Abdur Rahman III Cordova alone had 3,000 mosques. In consequence, during the Hispano-Arab dominion it was difficult to encounter a Moorish peasant who could not read and write. From this it is clear that there was a great demand for books and there was a large reading public. Book-making therefore

was stimulated to be a flourishing industry in Spain as it was in Baghdad. For these books paper mills were ready with an enormous supply of paper, needed at home and abroad.

There were various other industries carried on and organised on co-operative lines. As for instance, manufactures of mats, baskets of Esparto, the tough African grass; manufacture of flour and medicines at *Saragossa* and *Lorca* respectively are noteworthy. The flour mills of *Saragossa* and *Murcia*, built upon boats moored over the rapid currents of the Ebro and the Guadalavivier, were noted for their excellent flour. Granada and her suburbs had about 250,000 inhabitants, for whose consumption 130 water mills to manufacture flour were constantly at work. In Seville and her suburbs were established farm houses and presses for the production of olive and olive oil respectively. Their number was about 100,000. The drug market of *Lorca* was universally resorted to by physicians for the excellence and genuineness of the medicine guaranteed by the official supervision of the Government. Tinctures, essences, syrups they manufactured out of various herbs and vegetables, and flowers cultivated in their gardens were much finer than those made in any other part of the world.

Now let us turn to agriculture. It seems the Saracens came to rescue industry and agriculture from the dismal ruin of mediaeval violence and extravagance. The barbarian invasions obliterated the old civilisation, old commerce, industry and agriculture. Everywhere they scattered chaos and disorder. Hardly the troubled times were over when the Saracens came as it were to restore ancient culture and practically they began to build the superstructure on the ashes of Roman achievements that were overrun by the invaders. They also were not given a moment's rest throughout the period they ruled in Spain. Within two centuries they were given 3,500 battles.

With the Visigothic invasion and domination of Spain in the early decades of the 5th century, commerce and industry generally received a serious check. Agriculture was ruined to a greater extent. Shortly after, there were founded the *latifunda*, worked by slaves or serfs. The first effect of the Muslim ascendancy in Spain was to break up the *latifunda* into small holdings and to distribute them among soldiers and allies. The Arabs in a short while proved to be efficient yeomen. They were by far the most successful agriculturists. They successfully cultivated the vine on a large scale despite the prohibition of wine. They introduced the cultivation of rice, pomegranates, cane sugar and other oriental products. They completed a system of canals for the irrigation of gardens especially in the province of Murcia, Valencia and Granada. They were devoted to cattle-breeding as well. They were acquainted with the most minute details of farm life—as for instance, care of bees, poultry, and dairy farming.¹

Under the wise administration of the Caliphs, agriculture received the same fresh impetus as industry and commerce. The gradual emergence of a small proprietary class in society, as a result of the new system of land tenure, tended to bring about a degree of security and stability of business not enjoyed upon the peninsula since the days of the Roman rule.

That the Moors were up-to-date scientific farmers is not doubted. They had excellent systems of irrigation, understood the values of various fertilisers, practised rotation of crops and knew how to graft and produce new varieties of fruits and flowers. In agriculture and horticulture modern nations had learnt valuable lessons from them. They made the greatest progress in agricultural science. No civilised nation of their times possessed a code of husbandry more judicious or more perfect. Many of their learned men turned their

¹ Gibins, History of Commerce. •

attention to this subject. *Kutsami*, author of the Nabathean agriculture, *Abu Omar*, *Abu Abdullah*, *Abu Zachariah* and others afforded to their countrymen valuable instruction in the different branches of rural economy. During the Caliphate of Almanzar agriculture far advanced and notable books on *Kalb* and *Tazbil* (Husbandry and Manure) were written under his patronage. Of these writers *Mabraman ibn Yazid* had greatest reputation. His book is known as "*Alkawalib wazzawalib*." From these treatises it appears that the Saracens were well acquainted with the nature and properties of soils and manures and their proper application to every particular species of crops, trees and plants.¹ They were familiar with the rearing and management of cattle; and the European horse was greatly improved by a mixture with the Arabian breed. The horses of this Hispano-Arab breed were transported in great numbers even as far as Persia. In the kingdom of Granada 100,000 horses were regularly maintained for the use of the crown.

They had a thorough knowledge of climate and possessed the happy art of appropriating the different soils to that kind of culture best adapted to them. Agriculture flourished so much that the traveller's eyes were gladdened by well cultivated fields on all sides, irrigated upon scientific principles, so that what seemed the most sterile soil was rendered fertile. He was struck by the perfect order and marvelled at the cheapness of commodities, specially at a universal standard of living which permitted every one to ride a mule instead of journeying on foot and at the prevalent spruceness of attire.

Great care and skill were also bestowed on the formation of gardens and the choice and arrangement of plants and by this means many valuable exotics were naturalised. Besides rice, olives, oranges and the sugarcane which the Moors acclimatised in the Mediterranean provinces of Spain, Europe

¹ Dr. A. Crichton, *Arabia and its People*, p. 432.

is indebted to them for the introduction of cotton tree—the word “cotton” being itself derived from the Arabic word “Qutun”,—the pistaches, ginger, myrrh, henna, sesanu, saffron, spinach and a variety of fine fruits and vegetables now considered as indigenous. In ornamental gardening they took great delight, studying the gratification of the eye as well as of the palate. Flowers and fountains of water they had in the richest abundance. A monument of their horticultural taste still remains in the garden of the Alcazar at Seville, which is preserved in its original state.

Now I should like to indicate the commercial aspect of the Moorish achievements in the middle ages. The industrial as well as agrarian movements that we have just noticed had necessarily far-reaching commercial results. Trade was mainly carried on by sea and under Abdur Rahman III the most important sources of revenue were the duties on imports and exports. The exports from *Seville* which was one of the greatest river ports in Spain were cotton, oil, olives and other local produce. During the Emirate of Abdullah when Ibn Hajjaj held the sovereignty in Seville the port was filled with vessels laden with Egyptian cloth, slaves and singing girls from every part of Europe and Asia. For the commodities of European convenience and oriental luxury were bartered innumerable products of Moorish agriculture, mining enterprise and manufacturing skill—oils, fruits, sugar, rice, cotton of Andalusia and Valencia; cochineal, which abounded in many parts of the Peninsula; the antimony and quicksilver of *Estremadura*; the rubies, amethysts, and pearls of *Alicante* and *Carthegena*; the linens of *Salamanca*; the woollens of Segovia; the silks of Granada; the damasks of Almeria; papers of Jativa and so on. The most important exports from Jaen and Malaga were saffron, figs, wine, marble, precious stones, gold, silver, copper and sugar. Spanish exports went to Africa, Egypt and Constantinople and thence they were forwarded to India and Central Asia, to Mecca, Baghdad and Damascus.

In Moorish Foreign Trade the Jews had a great share. They had been more or less disturbed by the Romans in the pursuit of their vocation. They now became the foremost financiers and merchants of Moorish Spain. The Caliphs repaired and enlarged the ports of Cadiz, Seville, Barcelona for them to make room for the increasing volume of commerce, most of which was financed by them. The number of shops indicated the immensity of the traffic and Cordova alone had 80,000 shops. Ships from Pisa, Genoa came from the Levant laden with merchandise. The return cargo of these ships consisted of numerous articles of Moorish fields, mines and factories. From Constantinople these goods often entered the Euxine Sea and the Don, then passed down the Volga through Transcaspia.

For the development of foreign trade as well as for colonisation the Moors paid considerable attention to navigation and often undertook long and perilous voyages. The magnetic needle was invented by them. It had threefold value: (i) it guided the vessels across the trackless waters independently of the stars especially in clouded weather and in mist; (ii) it indicated unerringly the course of the Caravan and (iii) it enabled the worshipper to ascertain the point to which he should direct his face.

The trading expeditions of the adventurous Arabs had long before familiarised him with the relative positions, areas and natural productions of the principal countries of the globe. In consequence of these extensive voyages, no science was better understood than that of treating of the earth's surface. They had an immense mercantile marine and magnificent Navy. The woods and forests of Spain furnished them with timber and they are said to have possessed a fleet of more than 1,000 merchant vessels. From an Arabian writer on commerce of the 10th century, it appears that the balance of trade was decidedly in favour of the Moors, whom Casiri, from their maritime traffic and the distant voyages they undertook

by sea, compares to the ancient Phoenicians and Carthaginians. Commerce was the foundation of their greatness. It was the secret spring that filled the treasuries of Spain and fed the wealth and industry of her inhabitants.

This magnificence of the Moorish maritime commerce was due to the liberal fiscal policy of the Caliphs. Webster says:

“The legal basis of Arabic commerce was on the whole comparatively liberal. Customs duties and carefully scheduled taxes on merchants were levied in all the Mahammadan countries but commerce could scarcely have attained such vast proportions as it did in those countries, had it been restrained by really vexatious regulations and restrictions.”

He goes on,

“The Mahammadans also exerted a permanent influence upon the commercial development by their scientific and geographical knowledge, by their development of commercial routes which are not even yet worn out, by their extension of international relations, by their use of a medium of international exchange, by their maintenance of roads, construction of bridges, digging of wells along their caravan routes and other practical public works.”¹

The rules that governed the transactions of commercial intercourse in the markets of the Peninsula were so simple, convenient and equitable that they were subsequently adopted by many other nations. The learned French writer, Sedillot, is authority for the statement that “Europe has borrowed from the Arabs some of its most important principles of finance as well as its present code of maritime law.”²

As already indicated, according to the report of the Inspector-General of Customs under Caliph Abdur Rahman III, the import and export duties called ‘Taareef’ (in English Tariffs), as well as excise duties on all kinds of native products provided the larger part of the national revenue,

¹ Webster, General History of Commerce.

² Scot, Moorish Empire.

He imposed a duty of $12\frac{1}{2}\%$ *ad valorem* on every article exported or imported. There was no restrictions placed on foreign articles. The Caliphs were all free traders. Their policy was mainly guided by the principle of self-sufficiency and surplus production. Naturally they had to depend little on other countries for their necessities. They used to exchange for their articles rare commodities, luxuries and curiosities of the Orient of India. They sold their surplus. The aim of the Caliphs' administration also affected the policy of foreign trade of Spain. It was to enable every citizen to attain a normally high standard of living and to enjoy the commodity he produced or helped to produce. Labourers were sure of their share in produce. They had their wages in kind generally. The numerous slaves that the Jews sold to the Caliphs as State labourers every year were set free and given the liberty of settling down in Spain. The slaves were given education, civil and military functions as well. Caliph Abdur Rahman III gave them liberty and equalised their position in life with Aristocracy. This probably explains why the Caliphs' dominions were free from any acute labour unrest. There was specialisation and concentration of labourers in factories but the human tie between the labourers and their employers was not put as under.

Before we conclude, it is necessary to indicate the financial aspect of the Moorish industry. The Jews were the great financiers in the Moorish dominions. They financed indigenous industries as well as foreign trade. In the city of Cordova their quarter was known as the financial quarter "Darut Tajarat." To facilitate financing, the Caliphs introduced a system of currency which had largely the form of bimetallism. It was composed of the dinar, of gold, equal to two dollars, *i.e.*, 8s. 4d.—Rs. $6\frac{1}{4}$, the dirhem of silver, equal to 12 cents—6d. and various small pieces of copper the *feels* (*Lat. follis*) of fluctuating value. There were also half

dinars and $\frac{1}{3}$ dinars in use. Dinars were largely used for paying off international commercial obligations. It is yet to be discovered, however, how far credit facilities, banking operations and foreign exchange methods developed under the Moors.

The Moors also spread out their commercial activities into Sicily where they colonised. Sicily under their guidance flourished splendidly. Her natural resources coupled with her fortunate geographical position enriched her people. The harbours of Palermo and Syracuse were constantly crowded with shipping. Sicilian merchantmen were to be encountered in every European port; they brought cargoes of slaves, ivory and gold dust from the coast of Guinea; they traversed—the canal of Suez reopened by the Egyptian Caliphs—and braving the tempests of the Red Sea and the Indian ocean, penetrated into the Spice Islands of the far distant East. Her merchants could reach every article of popular research and commercial value, in exchange for which they exported the vegetable and mineral productions of the Island—cotton, hemp, grapes, oranges, sugar, wine, oil, copper, lead, iron, mercury, rock-salt, salt ammoniac; cattle and horses; the shell fish, from which was extracted the tyrian purple. The warehouses of the Sicilian cities were crowded with valuable merchandise of every conceivable description.¹

To conclude, from this brief survey of the achievements of the Arabs in Damascus, Baghdad and Spain in the domain of commerce and industry, it appears that they laid the foundation of the gigantic edifice of modern commerce. But unfortunately they could not be suffered to perpetuate their achievements, nor could they be given time to give a finishing touch to the programme with which they started so splendidly. It is nothing short of a tragedy in history that the Arabs have not been pictured what they really had been.

¹ Scot, Moorish Empire in Europe. •

Scot has, however, after 20 years' hard study come to this conclusion :

"Modern progress is due to the emancipation of human intellect, which cannot be attributed to ecclesiastical inspiration. It was not a product of the Crusades. It was not the effect of the Reformation. It was not the work of Christianity, whose policy has indeed been constantly inimical to its toleration or encouragement. It is a legitimate consequence of the liberal policy adopted and perpetuated by the Ommeyyide Caliphs throughout their magnificent empire whose civilisation was the wonder, as its power was the dread, of mediaeval Europe.¹

ABUL HUSSAIN

(Concluded)

SHADE AND SHINE

Death-dealing darkness Thine and Thine
 The light of life, O Lord !
 The dulcet lute of love is Thine
 And Thine the ruthless sword.
 Thou art I am, Thou art if naught I be
 And yet Thou givest endless life to me.
 I search above, I search below
 A sign from Thee to find—
 A search for love, 'midst hate and strife,
 This heart with Thee to bind.
 Now Love, unravel Thy gloried mystery
 That hearts all love and joy may find in Thee !

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

¹ Scot, Moorish Empire, Vol. III, p. 532.

PROF. ROYCE'S CONCEPTION OF ABSOLUTE PERSONALITY

Two essential characteristics, or one essential characteristic viewed from two standpoints, Prof. Royce thinks necessary for Absolute personality, *viz.*, Omniscience and Will. God or the Absolute possesses, for him, both Intellect and Will in their perfected forms, and may, therefore, be called a person. He has expressed himself more explicitly in this respect in 'The World and the Individual.' (*Vide* Vol. II, pp. 418-20.) In short, we can divide Prof. Royce's whole theory into two parts: (a) the part in which he describes the intellectual attributes of God, and (b) the part in which he describes His volitional attributes. There is very little in the first part which we can dispute, but there is a good deal in the second from which we have to differ. We shall turn our attention particularly to two points: (i) the ultimate and essential nature of will, and (ii) the true nature of God or the Absolute as Will.

(i) *The ultimate and essential nature of will*:—I shall only briefly deal with this point here.¹ What is will? "Will is a word traditionally used to express the sumtotal of all our performances.....whether in the form of physical movement or of more purely intellectual, aesthetical and ethical pursuits, under the 'guidance'.....as we say of reason, and because of the 'motives' furnished by our various emotions, sentiments and desires. Thus 'willing' (wollen) comes to be almost co-extensive in our thought, with that entire sphere of 'acting' (handeln), and even of 'doing' (thun), which we call our own! ('Prof. Ladd, *Psychology*,' p. 609.) Thus, in this wide sense, the phenomena of will include all active manifestations from the simplest to the

¹ For a fuller account, *vide* author's 'Outlines of Moral Philosophy,' Bk. I, pp. 50-61.

most complex and developed. The simpler manifestations of will are generally termed 'conation,' while the higher and more complex phases are called 'volition.'

Being the primitive and simplest manifestation of will, conation cannot be logically defined. We can, however, classify all conative phenomena in two ways: (a) all the bodily movements carried out by the 'voluntary' muscles fall under conation. So that they should be carefully distinguished from those movements of the organism which are unconscious. We may, then, say that conation includes all movements that are accompanied by consciousness, and are marked off as *psychical* actions. In this broad sense conation includes the blind primitive movements. (b) But will does not manifest itself only in the movements of organism, but also in the movements of the mind. Thus, all active process of attention or concentration.....'the determination of the direction and amount of attention.....the fixing and distribution of mental energy in the so-called field of consciousness'.....comes under conation.

"Thus it is that when we conceive of ourselves as 'doing something' it is always either in the way of moving some of the bodily members so as to accomplish a certain end, or else in the way of voluntarily controlling the ideas, thoughts, feelings, and other forms of mental life..... In general it may be said that *all mental life manifests itself to the subject of that life as being, in one of its fundamental aspects, its own spontaneous activity!*" (Ladd, '*Primer of Psychology*,' pp. 194-95.)

"Those blind acts of will or 'mere conations' which account for many of the primitive movements.....become more and more displaced by acts of will that show intelligence and foresight. Such an act of will may then be called a 'volition.' A volition thus implies a certain development of will, and not of will alone (as though it were possible), but of all the connected conscious powers of the mind. It may be defined as a definite conation (or conscious doing) directed towards realising some end that is pictured before the mind, preceded or accompanied by a condition of desire, and usually accompanied or followed by a feeling of effort.....More or less clearly, however, every volition is an act of

will which knows what it wants." (*Ibid*, p. 199); see also Prof. Stout, '*Manual of Psychology*,' 2nd. edn., pp. 599-601).

Our nature is endowed from the very beginning with some tendencies or impulses to activity, *e.g.*, the yearning after happiness, the impulse towards perfection or self-development, and the instinct of self-preservation. From the definition of voluntary movement it is evident that an idea of the movement must be present in the mind of the agent, and consequently, in order to have that idea, the movement itself must be initiated and performed, in the instance, not by volition of the agent, but by some blind impulse of his nature. This original and instinctive factor shows itself first in the form of some vague impulse.....a vague process of craving or striving. The primitive movements thus initiated may be divided into the following classes: (a) Random movements, (b) sensori-motor movements; conscious reflexes; (c) aesthetico-motor movements; (d) impulsive or instinctive movements; (e) ideo-motor movements; (f) imitative movements.

A voluntary movement presupposes experience. We know further from its definition that not only an idea of the movement itself but also an idea of 'end' consisting in the attainment of some results of the movement must precede it. As man has no prophetic vision of his doing and its results from the beginning, it is easy to see that these ideas must be supplied by experience. That is to say, he must know before he acts the nature of the action to be executed, the results to be aimed at, and the necessary causal connexion between the action and its results; and he can learn these only from experience. As Prof. Höffding puts it:

"The involuntary activity forms the basis and the content of the voluntary. The will is in no way creative, but only modifying and selective." ('*Psychology*,' Eng. trans., p. 330.)

It follows from this that the voluntary movements must be preceded by involuntary movements. Now, these primitive movements, or the primitive impulses or tendencies to these movements, constitute the 'given' materials in the regulation and organisation of which volition consists. (*Vide* Prof. James Seth, '*Ethical Principles*,' pp. 42-43.)

But this is not all. Human activities are not prompted by blind primitive impulses or tendencies only. At least in the developed life most of the actions are initiated by 'desires' and 'ideals'. new kinds of forces—which arise out of the action of reason upon those impulses or tendencies. In the words of Dr. Martineau we may then say that all the springs of action are not primary, but some or most of them are secondary. Thus, hunger is an impulse or primary spring of action, while desire for food is a secondary spring of action. Hence, although in the undeveloped form of life, volition consists *mainly* in regulating and organising the impulses, because desires and ideals are few and far between in it, in the developed life its main function is the regulation and organisation of *desires* and *ideals*.

The process of volition, at least in its fully developed form, may be analysed into the following factors: (a) When two or more impulses or desires contend with one another in consciousness, *i.e.*, draw the mind towards the attainment of different ends, the self intervenes, checks or inhibits them, and thereby produces a state of pause or arrest of action. This state of arrest is psychologically very important, because it shows that the self has the power to control the blind impulses of our nature and can break the continuity of the merely impulsive life. This state does not imply that we intend to drive off the contending impulses or desires from our consciousness; what it really means is that we intend to weigh and compare their respective values and importance in order to select one to the exclusion of others. (*See also* Prof. Stout, '*Manual of Psychology*,' 2nd edn., pp. 603-04.)

(b) The stage of pause or arrest is followed by the stage of *deliberation*. It consists in weighing and comparing the relative value and importance of the different contending impulses or desires by reference to the interest of the self as a whole as conceived at the time. If a single impulse or desire is present in a time and leads immediately to action, the action will not be strictly voluntary. In fact, in a voluntary act when a single desire seems to be present, it is not present alone, but is opposed, at least by its antagonist, viz., *aversion* to the action, with more or less distinctness. In all cases of voluntary action, there is a *conflict of impulses or desires* drawing the mind towards different objects. This stage of conflict is what is known as the stage of *deliberation*. In this stage the agent does not merely desire objects, and then immediately and unthinkingly proceeds to attain them, but ponders over them by considering whether the attainment of any one of them will satisfy the self *as a whole*. Thus, so long as deliberation goes on, the contending desires may be regarded as 'motives' for deciding; when we arrive at any decision, the triumphant desires become 'motives' for action. "Or, to put the case in another way, while the process of deliberation is going on, the competing desires are regarded as possible motives for action; when the decision is formed, they become actual motives for action." (Prof. Stout, *Manual of Psychology*, p. 605.)

(c) The stage of deliberation is a stage of suspense or indecision. It is followed by the stage of *decision* or *choice*. After due deliberation one of the contending desires is selected or chosen to the exclusion of the others. This act is called the act of choice, decision or resolution, the essence of which consists in that the agent identifies himself in anticipation with the object of the selected desire and with the particular line of action required to attain it.

"While deliberating, we are making up our mind, and we do not know what our mind is going to be. When we have formed a decision,

we have come to know our own mind. The conception of the self has become fixed where it was previously indeterminate. The realisation of one line of conative tendency is now definitely anticipated as part of our future life-history so far at least as external conditions will allow of its execution. Opposing conative tendencies either cease to operate, or they appear only as difficulties or obstacles in the way of carrying out our decision. They are no longer regarded as possible motives of action..... With the full emergence of the decision, the conflict of motives as such ceases..... In a perfect volition, opposing impulses are not merely held in check ; they are driven out of the field. If they continue to resist, they do so as external obstacles to a volition already formed. They are no longer motives ; they are on the same footing with any other difficulty in the way of attainment." (Prof. Stout, '*Manual of Psychology*,' pp. 606-07.)

The selected desire is commonly called 'motive' because it moves the agent to act in a particular way. If the realisation of the motive thus formed is delayed for some reason, the state of the mind in relation to the action is said to be a state of *resolution*. It is to be added that when the motive is realised by means of an overt act, the act represents the external side, and desire, deliberation, choice or decision and motive constitute the internal side, of the whole volition.

From the above it is manifest that "the entire process is one of selective attention." The self passes from one impulse or desire to another and finally fixes its attention upon one to the entire exclusion of the others. Again, the act of choice is not an isolated act, it is related to, and determined by, the nature of the self as a whole. A contending desire is relative to a passing state of the self, while the selected desire or motive is relative to the self as a whole. Thus, choice or selection is 'an activity of moral apperception.' The selected desire is incorporated with the entire life-history of the self ; a new element comes to be added to the old. As Prof. James Seth puts it :

"It is the entire man.....the self.....that makes the choice, and in doing so, he takes up a new moral attitude ; the entire moral being

undergoes a subtle but real change." "A choice is therefore an organisation, which is at the same time an integration or assimilation, of impulses or desires."

Common psychology stops with volition in its analysis of will ; but volition is not the highest stage or the consummation of will. Conation supplies the needs of human life in its simple and more or less undeveloped state ; the nisus of human life is towards its own perfect unity and completeness, which can be achieved only by its perfect harmony with the environment... ..with the objects or not-selves. To attain that end, the self is incessantly struggling and expanding itself, and thereby passing through a process of evolution. At the early stages of this process of evolution, the needs of human life being simple and few, the simple spontaneity..... the blind primary impulses.....is sufficient to provide them : the process of adjustment between the self and the not-self..... between the life and the environment.....at its early stages is more or less simple and easy, so that it can be kept agoing with sufficient efficiency by simple and unenlightened spontaneity. But as the life develops and becomes more and more complex and complicated, newer and newer needs, most of which are complex and complicated, arise and demand satisfaction : the consequence is, the complex and complicated situation thus arising cannot be met and satisfactorily solved by simple and blind spontaneity called conation. Hence the need of volition which is more developed and enlightened spontaneity capable of meeting and solving the situation with greater efficiency ; it forms newer and newer 'ends' to satisfy the growing demands of the life in response to the calls of the environment, and devises adequate means to the realisation of those ends. In this way volition attempts to effect efficient adjustment or harmony between the growing life and the environment.....between the progressing self and the not-self. Therefore, volition is necessary for meeting and solving the complex and complicated situation in which man

is placed from time to time in the course of its evolution towards its unity and completeness. But, yet, it is only a passing phase of the growing will ; it, by itself, is inadequate to effect the perfect harmony between the self and the not-self..... between the life and the environment. It will have to conceive entirely new means and ends in every new situation ; it would be taxed or strained beyond its power to meet and solve that situation ; therefore, for the economy and smooth progress of life it is indispensably necessary to form *habits of will* which will act smoothly without further straining the will in order to effect complete harmony which is necessary for the stability and smooth working of life.

— Hence the development of will involves and depends upon the constant formation of habits, and it is found that for this reason the most essential characteristic of a developed life is the predominance of habits over volition ; the more a life is developed or progressed the more it is guided by habits : a life which in every instance devises new means and ends for its adjustment is a lower form of life ; every well-organised or systematic life exhibits signs of greater spontaneity and of lesser volition. As Prof. Stout tells us that a civilised life is far more systematic than a savage life, because the former is guided and controlled more by habits than by the freaks of the unregulated and undeveloped will. And when the life reaches its perfection, its unity and completeness, the volition is completely modified and transformed into a higher form of will, which is perfectly spontaneous or habitual, and may, therefore, be named *perfect spontaneity*. Perfect spontaneity is, thus, highest stage or the goal of the evolving will. But this does not imply that volition is *wholly lost* in perfect spontaneity ; like every other goal of a process of evolution, perfect spontaneity includes and involves what is ultimately true and abiding in conation and volition, and excludes only those features of them which are accidental and evanescent. Perfect spontaneity is, therefore, far richer and

fuller than simple and imperfect spontaneity as involved in conation. Conation, as we have seen, is itself simple and unenlightened, and, therefore, cannot provide for the growing demands of life ; it can sustain only comparatively simple and uncomplicated life. But perfect spontaneity is highly complex and complicated answering to highly complex and complicated demands of life, and is, therefore, the result of a considerably long course of evolution of will ; by means of it the self establishes perfect adjustment or harmony between itself and the world, and thereby reaches its own perfection or consummation. And it is well known that spontaneity is more efficient to effect adjustment between the life and the environment than volition ; volition has, no doubt, a wider sweep and a far larger field for the exercise of its power and potency than simple spontaneity or conation, but it has lesser adequacy for efficient adjustment : while spontaneity directly and straightly leads to the realisation of the end, scarcely failing to do so, volition takes arduous and indirect means which in many instances fail to realise the ends. Or, in other words, while spontaneity is almost unerring, volition is always liable to error. This advantage of spontaneity reaches its completion and perfect efficiency in perfect spontaneity which is evolved out of a long exercise of volition. Unlike the simple primitive spontaneity, the perfect spontaneity has, on the other hand, its field of exercise as widened as the whole world instead of being narrowed down to a limited sphere. Or, in other words, the perfect life is in perfect harmony with the whole world, which means that it fully and adequately responds to the calls of the world, as the world fully and adequately responds to its own calls or demands : its spontaneity fully meets its demands and adequately satisfies itself.

From the above analysis of will it is evident that the essence of will is not deliberation, choice, or selective attention, nor even want, purpose or ought, but *spontaneity or*

spontaneous effort or activity: the former features are accidental and evanescent, while the latter fundamental and permanent, and perfect will means *perfect spontaneity or spontaneous activity*. Even the extreme of intellectualism does not hold that perfect intellect or self-consciousness is something absolutely inert, inactive or dead; it is an active principle which constantly goes out of itself to its 'other,' and thereby maintains and realises itself in perfect harmony with the latter. We should notice one other point in this connexion. Will and intellect are interrelated and interdependent functions of the self, so that the development of will necessarily involves the corresponding development of intellect; even conation involves incipient or rudimentary form of intellect; no human tendency or impulse is wholly blind, and I doubt whether there is any absolutely blind impulse working anywhere in the universe. The whole universe is rational and in a sense conscious. The truth is, intellect is an *active* principle, as will is an *intelligent* one; there is no intellect without will, as there is no will without intellect. Such being the case it is impossible and even absurd to suppose that a perfect life can be perfectly intellectual without being *active, i.e.*, involving an element of will. In fact, a perfect life is a *perfect intelligence and a perfect will*. But a perfect intelligence which knows all things perfectly and in perfect harmony with itself, requires only that much of will as is necessary for its activity, and what is necessary for its activity is *perfect spontaneity or effort* which is the essential characteristic of perfect will.

Now an objection may be taken to the above theory. It may be said that though spontaneity is blind and does not conceive ends and attempt to realise them by devised means, yet it is found *to be adjusted to ends*. All our impulses or inclinations are directed to ends, though these ends remain unconscious or implicit at the time. Similarly, perfect spontaneity also must be directed to ends, it does not matter

whether these ends are consciously conceived or not; but a perfect life cannot have any ends, because it has already realised all the ends; and a life which has no ends cannot have spontaneity, effort or activity of any kind. Hence a perfect life must be perfectly inert or inactive, *i.e.*, cannot have will. Our first reply to such an objection would be that a life which is absolutely inert or inactive is equally impossible and inconceivable; and thus the effect of it would be that either a life cannot be perfect, or if it can be so it will be destroyed as soon as it attains perfection. But neither of these alternatives can be accepted. If a life cannot attain perfection, its evolution is meaningless and its nisus towards its unity and completeness is chimerical. Human life is essentially the universal and absolute life working and realising itself under finite conditions and striving to gain its perfection by overcoming those limitations, therefore the evolution of life and its nisus towards its unity and completeness are not illusory; their significance depends upon the ability of life to attain its perfection. Again, life cannot be conceived of as lost when it attains its perfection, because its perfected state is far more real than its imperfect states, or, at least, as real as life itself. Thus the real solution of the dilemma rests upon the nature of the answer to the question: *Can spontaneity be possible without being adjusted and directed to an end?* It must be admitted that the spontaneity or activity of finite and imperfect beings is adjusted or directed to an end, but, yet, it is doubtful whether in all instances it is directed to an end by the realisation of which they seek to remove their wants or defects. Sometimes it is found that actions are performed with no definite and explicit ends; to all intents and purposes those actions may be regarded as *wholly aimless*. All the *involuntary actions* mentioned above are aimless and indifferent, and so are all *habitual actions*. So that, it is not absurd to suppose that the actions started and determined by the perfect and highest spontaneity must

be *completely aimless and indifferent*. Some instances of such aimless and indifferent actions have been given in the Vedānta, Sāṅkhya and the Yoga systems of philosophy. In the Sāṅkhya it is said that those souls which have been liberated during their earthly life perform actions which are quite aimless and to which they are quite indifferent. In the *Yoga Sūtram* it is affirmed that yogins sometimes create by dint of their spiritual rays numerous other *yogins* for the purpose of completing through them the enjoyment of the fruits of the actions done in their lives in the course of their present earthly life, and the *yogins* thus created perform all sorts of actions to do which they have been created quite aimlessly and indifferently. In the Vedānta it is stated that as the richest people sometimes perform actions not to remove their wants, but simply to amuse themselves by sports, so the Brahman created this world not for the removal of His wants or defects which he certainly had not, but simply for the sake of aimless sport or play (*līlā*). (We shall discuss this point more fully in the next section.) It is true that we find considerable difficulty in thinking that there may be a life which is active, but, yet, is *wholly aimless or indifferent* to its activity. The difficulty arises mainly from the fact that we cannot fully grasp and penetrate a perfect life: we are ourselves imperfect and our actual lives fall considerably short of the ideal life: we are always tempted to anthropomorphise what is beyond and above anthropomorphism: we always try to paint with our own colour what refuses to be so painted. In short, we try to express perfect activity in terms of our imperfect activity. Yet, we are not *merely* imperfect: the perfect and absolute life is working and realising itself in us under limitations, so that we are able to understand it, though imperfectly and inadequately, what it is like. We are constrained to think that the perfect life must be active and that its essence is *perfect spontaneity*; that is to say, its activity is *perfectly aimless or indifferent*.

(ii) *God as will.*—We now come to the second point and ask ourselves the question: Is God a Will? If so, in what sense? We have proved above that in a perfect life will exists as a perfect spontaneity, and we must say that *God is will in the sense of a perfect spontaneity*. Here an objection may be raised: Spontaneity or effort manifests itself in time, but God is *timeless*, how, then, can He be a perfect spontaneity? Our answer would be this: God is not *absolutely* timeless, for if He were so, He could not appear in time, *i.e.*, could not differentiate Himself into beings and things which exist in time; so that God's timelessness is *relative* and does not exclude time. That is to say, He is *timeless* in the sense that as a whole he is perfect, unchangeable, all-inclusive and without beginning and end: yet He may be said to be *in time* in the sense that His differentiations take place in time, that all things and changes that are in time are included in Him as His modes or moments. In fact, time cannot be *excluded* from his nature, for, if that could be possible, all beings, things and events that exist in time must also be excluded from it, and thus, would limit it and make it finite. Therefore the more appropriate epithet which we can apply to Him would be 'eternal' which does not really mean 'timeless,' but that which *embraces whole time*; all other beings and things embrace only a portion of time, while God embraces all or whole time. Being the Absolute Whole He includes all that exists in time within Himself as His differentiations, modes or moments but as the whole He is not in time, *i.e.*, He has no beginning, end or existence in time. In this sense He is *above* time, or timeless, but in the other sense, He is in time, because he works and realises Himself in and through all beings, things and events as His manifestations in time. We are indebted to Prof. Royce for this more reasonable interpretation of the eternity of God. God's spontaneity can likewise be viewed from two standpoints: being inherent in His nature it is *co-eval* with Him, and is, therefore, eternal;

yet, as it acts and manifests itself in all beings, things and events that exist in time it is *temporal*.

Prof. Royce's contention that the essence of will is 'selective attention,' and God is will in the sense that He *selected* the present universe out of numberless other possible universes and thereby fixated His attention upon it to the exclusion of these possible universes, seems, therefore, to be erroneous. Moreover, it is impossible to suppose that God could have possibilities for selecting one out of them in order to make it an actuality. Actuality is always greater than possibility; an actual or realised world is something more than a possible or unrealised world, just as a full-grown tree is something more than a seed (*i.e.*, an unrealised tree). The possible worlds which God could create must be far less than the present realised world; therefore, the content of Divine nature must be far less than the content which it would have if those possible worlds also were realized. The Divine nature would be far richer if all the worlds were realised than what it now is. Consequently, the supposition of the 'possible worlds' which God could select and create if He liked, is inconsistent with His perfect and eternally realised nature. Possibilities are possible for imperfect and limited beings like ourselves, but for an infinite and perfect being like God they are absolutely impossible. Therefore, the present world was the only world which God could evolve, and the innumerable other possible worlds were mere chimeras. We should here guard ourselves against a misunderstanding: If by the present world we mean only the world which was, is and will be experienced by human beings past, present and future, we must then say that such a world is an infinitely small part of the whole universe which fully expresses the nature of God. In this sense there are other innumerable realised worlds than the present one which are only possible to us.

Let us examine Prof. Royce's theory a little more closely. His main point is this:

"It is of the nature of pure or abstract thinking to deal with endless possibilities, with ideas which transcend all finite actuality of presentation and which so remain bare possibilities.....Experience always determines the infinite universals of thought to concrete individual examples. Thought, on the other hand, even when it defines the contents of experience always does so by viewing them as individual cases of an infinite series of possible cases."

He tells us further that this characteristic of pure or abstract thought remains intact in the Absolute also. "Ideas must," he observes, "always transcend content, even in an Absolute Experience? Yes, as abstract or unreal ideas." Ideas, then, must indeed in one sense transcend data even in the Absolute Experience. But how? Answer: "*As hypothesis contrary to facts*, not as expressions of genuine and unfulfilled truth." But this raises a difficulty of which Prof. Royce is not unaware, for he asks himself the question: "What sort of Absolute Experience would that be, in which there were ideas present as hypotheses contrary to fact, as bare or unreal possibilities?" His answer is this:

"It would be an experience of fact as individual cases, exemplifying universal types in such a fashion as to embody a knowledge of the essence of both of these facts and of their types.....So, then, an Absolute Experience could and would at once find its ideas adequately fulfilled in concrete fact, and also find this fulfilment as an individual collection of individuals exemplifying these ideas, while, as to other abstractly possible fulfilments of the same ideas, the Absolute experience would find them as hypothetical or ideal entities, contrary to facts."

I fail to understand the reasonableness of his answer. To the Absolute Experience all ideas must be *adequately* and *exhaustively* fulfilled and there cannot remain any possible fulfilments of those same ideas..... an ideal or type must be *fully* realised in the Absolute Experience, otherwise, the latter will not be absolute or perfect, but only partial and imperfect. Prof. Royce's attempt to explain his view by the illustrations of a line goes rather the opposite way. Our

knowledge of a geometrical line based upon the knowledge of a limited number of points constructed on the line, must be limited and must always leave margin for possible knowledge of innumerable other possible points: our idea of a line, therefore, remains always unfulfilled, and that is the character of all our ideas or ideals. Admitting all these to be true of all our knowledge and ideal, I fail to understand how that will be true also of the Absolute knowledge, the Absolute knowledge of a line must be the knowledge of all the infinite number of points, and cannot leave any margin for any possible knowledge of any possible points, for those possible points must be either *existent* or *non-existent*; and if they are existent, they must be *known* to the Absolute Experience; if they are non-existent, they must be nothing in the sense of being unthinkable and unknowable, because a thinkable and knowable nothing is something and therefore existent. As I have said before any possibility is therefore impossible for the Absolute Experience. But Prof. Royce tells us that it is impossible even for the Absolute "to embody the ideals or universals in all abstractly or barely possible cases." It is undoubtedly an astounding assertion. An experience that cannot 'embody the ideals or universals in all abstractly or barely possible cases,' is unworthy to be absolute or perfect, for those 'abstractly or barely possible cases,' if real or existent at all, must fall outside that experience and thus limit its range. He seems to lay the force of his argument on the nature of pure or abstract thought, which consists for him in its power of transcending all amount of experience including the Absolute. I expect that he must admit, as he has admitted in the description of the intellectual side of the Absolute, that the thought of the Absolute is perfect. Now, we ask one question: Can the Absolute Thought transcend the Absolute Experience? Can the Absolute Thought know ideals which are not fully and exhaustively realised in the Absolute Experience? Prof. Royce appears to answer in the

affirmative, and the consequence of it will be that the Absolute Experience is not, for him, *adequate* to the Absolute Thought, and is, therefore, *limited*; and a limited experience he must admit, cannot be *absolute* or *perfect*. Thus his theory introduces an element of contradiction into the Absolute and makes it a limited being so far, at least, as its experience is concerned. But it is curious that in the first part of his theory in which he describes the characteristics of the Absolute as Thought, he admits this:

“The Omniscient Being would possess an Absolute Experience; that is a wholly complete and self-contained experience, not a mere part of some larger whole. Again, the Omniscient Being would be a thinker. But we, as thinkers, are limited, both in so far as there is possible thought not yet attained by us, and in so far as we often do not know what ones amongst our thoughts or ideas have a genuine meaning or correspond to what an absolute experience would fulfil. But the Omniscient Being would not be thus limited as to his thinking: Accordingly, he would possess what we may call an Absolute Thought, *i.e.*, a self-contained thought sufficient unto itself, and needing no further comment, supplement or correction. As the union of such an Absolute Thought and Absolute Experience, our Omniscient Being is technically to be named simply the Absolute; that is the being sufficient unto himself.”

We may, therefore, conclude that God is Will, not in the sense that He by His ‘selective attention’ fixated the present world out of numberless other possible worlds, or some examples of ideals or universals excluding the innumerable other examples as mere possibilities, but in the sense that He is a *perfect spontaneity*, eternally exercising His powers and acting perfectly spontaneously in complete union with His perfect Thought or Intellect, and that, thus, though His spontaneity or activity is *timeless* in the sense that it has no beginning nor end, yet, it also *appears* in time in as much as all beings and things that are His manifestations, modes or moments, exist in time.

Prof. Royce’s conception of Absolute Personality as expounded in ‘The World and the Individual’ appears to be

more satisfactory. He there maintains that God is a person, because He is a self-conscious Being and is conscious of a self 'whose eternal perfection is attained through the totality of these ethically significant temporal strivings, these processes of evolution, these linked activities of finite selves.' He thus assigns two essential characteristics to the Divine Personality, namely, *self-consciousness* and *will*, understanding by the latter not that which acts in order to realise a purpose or end, or to remove a want, but that which acts or manifests itself, because it is its inherent and eternal nature to do so, and that, in this sense, its activity is *eternal* and *perfectly spontaneus*, and yet, that activity fully realises and attains its completion in and through the temporal activities of all beings and things that constitute the universe.

A. K. MAJUMDAR

MONOTONY

Dead are dreams

And the hope of dreams

And ashes cover my eyes ;

And over all, like a pall

Lies the weight of the leaden skies.

In here ! In here !

This festering soul has rotted the whole ;

And the earth is gray with death.

And the only thing that lives to "sing"

Is my own foul, horrible breath.

LINWELL ROHL

BEAUTY IN MODERN LIFE

Daniel Gregory Mason¹ has written ;

"In no way do people differ more than in what they do with their ears. A few of us use them to hear with. Most of us, I am afraid, like a certain animal, only wag them. Hardly any of us really 'take in' more than a small fraction of the interesting or beautiful experiences that constantly present themselves for admittance at the portals of our ears. Most of them, if we admit them at all, go in, as we say, at one ear and out at the other. They are like telephone messages constantly pouring in to a central operator who is asleep. For when you come to think of it, our ears are only doors after all; the centre of the house, the place where the business is done, is the mind. When Thoreau said that 'The eye can no more see than any other jelly' he might have added that the ear can no more hear than any other hole. When Newton was asked how he made his discoveries, he answered, 'By intending my mind.' It is thus that all the beautiful things in the world, whether addressed to the eye or the ear, have been created, and it is only thus that they can be apprehended. 'As a landscape is in the eye of the beholder, so the symphony is in the ear of the hearer.'"

It is the answer of the mind to the organs of the sense that determines the universe in which we live. One of the James, William or Henry, wrote in a letter, "After all it is the amount of life a man feels that makes you respect him." Some one else has said, "The highest achievement possible in life is the making of a personality." It has occurred to me many times that here is a job at which we can work all the time. We can work at it every moment of our lives, awake or sleeping, for consciously or unconsciously we are always developing personality. What an astonishing thought it is!

¹ From *Song to Symphony*, Daniel Gregory Mason, Chas. H. Ditson & Co., New York.

Of course, one must use discrimination. Some personalities are best developed by judicious curbing. A young lady one time asked a young man, "Don't you like to see people natural?" "Well," he replied doubtfully, "it depends somewhat upon the nature." So, developing personality does not mean letting one's self go completely with every impulse of youth—or of age, for that matter—unrestrained. It is something that requires a great deal of thought. When one realizes how much most of us are missing of all that is exalting and noble, we have reason to mourn.

Many years ago I was invited to a town in central Illinois to participate in the celebration of the establishment of a library there. On the way down, I read the *Chicago Tribune*, a journal which modestly styles itself "the world's greatest newspaper." It is not often that I remember what I read in a newspaper but that day I read something which I cannot forget—a story of a middle-aged man who had been an illiterate blacksmith at the time of the opening of the World War. He had gone into the army, had been sent back wounded, and promoted from the hospital to a vocational school he had there found his opportunity. He developed so rapidly that it was decided he should be made a teacher. So he was sent to a teacher's training school and in three years made up for all the years of primary, grammar, high school and college life which he had missed. Today he is principal of one of the great schools of the State of Michigan.

I remember this vividly because of another incident associated with it when I reached my destination. I went to a hotel and being tired and sleepy I thought I would lie down for an hour to rest. Before lying down, however, I looked out of my window and across the street sitting in the sunshine I saw a row of men—men of a familiar restful type you know—evidently the yeomanry of the town. They made me think of a picture I had cut some time before from a *Geographical Magazine*, of a number of black savages sitting

on a long log, dark forms not encumbered by too much of this world's good: and underneath them this caption: "They often sit this way for hours without speaking."

That was what these men of Centralia made me think of. Those bushmen in the magazine were sculptural figures and gave me pleasure; I had felt no personal responsibility about them. But when it came to the people of my own wonderful state of Illinois I did feel a responsibility;—to think of those stalwart, able-bodied men sitting there, with nothing in their minds at all, vegetating in that fashion made me ashamed. I took my nap, and when I woke up they were still there—in exactly the same position.

One of our great writers has eloquently said that "Art is the art of the covenant in which all ideas of beauty and excellence are carried before the race." I do not know where I have ever heard the significance of art expressed more wonderfully. I have been an artist for forty or fifty years but until recently I have not known the real significance of art. As years go by, one comes to a different perspective. At eight or ten I started my profession because I had a little knack of drawing pictures and illustrating stories. Today this is called "self-expression." Our young people "express themselves," and do not study. They do not need technique. But the great pleasure I felt in that day was in my mother's showing these pictures to the neighbours. "Isn't he smart?" "Isn't he cunning?" they would say. And then a few years later I found myself an actual art student at an art school in Paris, and there happened to be a thousand other students there. They were also "smarties!" Came competition and the attempts to win a prize. I won it, probably a stroke of luck. Later I found myself established in the modern city of Chicago on the Great Lakes, only to find that no one wanted my art. I discovered, however, as time went on that I gained a new point of view about art.

And recently came the greatest of these experiences, on which I shall never forget. With the advent of the World

War I offered to go abroad to talk to our boys. They were slow in accepting me. It was thought, probably, that I was too old, but at last I gained the necessary permission and found myself in France. As I had lived there, I felt I knew what the boys were going through and was sure that they loved France. To my dismay, I found not only that they did not like it, but that the average doughboy had no appreciation or knowledge whatever of France's great position in civilization. I found myself, then, up against an experience I had never had before: I was talking to people who did not care to hear me: In America, people had paid to come to hear me, and had remained because they had paid! In France, doughboys came because it was raining outside, and they stayed unwillingly because they knew that when I finished they would have a movie or a boxing match. The result of this, was, for me, a very necessary adjustment. I showed them the most beautiful French cathedrals, on the screen. These made no impression. The boys said they were "fed up" on Cathedrals. I grew to love the boys, however, and felt very badly over their lack of appreciation of the beauties of the land in which they were sojourning. Later I was sent to Beune where there was an improvised university, and there I found boys who had had previous education, and who knew something of France and what that land meant. I spent three happy months there. Then I was sent to Bellevue, where our art students were assembled. An eager, grateful lot they were, signing petitions to be allowed to work until eleven-thirty at night, instead of ten-thirty, the usual hour of quitting; and not only that, but a petition to be allowed to remain in France, studying, when the other boys were sent home. I did not hear a profane word from these young men. Their lives were filled with enthusiasm and they were finding here the opportunity they had thought would not come for many years—perhaps not at all—the opportunity to study in France.

Another experience came about that had not been foreseen. In learning to talk the language of the doughboys, I found there was one thing that they would listen to and that was reference to the "home-town." I had never thought about that. I did not suppose they would listen to it. But they did. I used to hear them speak of the "good old U. S. A." I told them I had never heard that before. One of them had embellished his knapsack with the inscription: "John Jones, Clarinda, Iowa—God's Country," with a flourish! One day while we were looking at a smiling spring landscape, I exclaimed, "Beautiful, isn't it?" The boy to whom I spoke, answered, "Yes, but it isn't Hannibal, Missouri." Hannibal has its bluffs and parks along the Mississippi, its statue of Mark Twain, things to love. It was—the place back home. So I found that the approach to these boys was through love of the old home city.

This led to the thought of beautifying the "old home town," and the enlightening thought that it is there that patriotism begins. People have various capacities for affection. Some may love only the home itself. Many politicians love the ward they live in. Others love but the desk before which they sit. Some care for the town itself, and still others are able to embrace the whole country.

I began to tell the boys in camp who were picking up the newspapers—there is nothing they hate worse than picking up papers in camp—"Go home, and teach the people there to do the same. It may give them the beginning of pride in their city, and lay the foundation of good citizenship." The path of civilization is tin cans and disorder. I know of a city near Chicago where there is a cataract of tin cans—they are building up a hill of those tin cans, and they sparkle in the sunlight. It is an actual fact that few of us individually are aware of beauty. We have to be introduced to it. I cannot help thinking—here—of a nurse-maid in a country place where a few of us were once working at our art. We

watched the sunset every evening, and one evening this nurse-maid turned to my wife and asked us if she might not run home across the street and show the sunset to her people.

My wife replied, "They will see it, won't they?"

"No," she said, "I never saw it until you came."

And so it was in France. I stood one day before the great Cathedral of Bourges. Wherever I was sent in France was the place I wished to be. I had seen the other four great cathedrals, but it happened that I had never seen this one. There it was rising like a mesa, an acropolis, from the surrounding plain, rising above a sea of red-tiled houses as though nature had elevated it, and had then swept down over it like a glacier, grooving it out. As we approached it, it disappeared and then suddenly reappeared. I was close upon it. There were the five great portals, instead of the usual three. There was the famous sculpture—the Angel of Judgment, weighing a human soul, the human soul looking something like a bull-frog.

I knew the cathedral by heart because I had given lectures on it before I went to France, and here is a suggestion—there is no better preparation for a trip to Europe than to give lantern-slide lectures about it before you go! So I knew every angle on the Cathedral, and as I stood there admiring it, I heard suddenly behind me a quick exclamation:

"Ghee!"

This was the American appreciation of art! And then followed from the doughboy behind me: "What do you know about that!" He touched me on the shoulder and asked, "Can you tell me how that thing happened?"

I tried to tell him as best I could the story of the building of these amazing cathedrals, when all the towns of northern France were crowding and bursting with the impulse toward the most wonderful architecture ever seen, bursting as the modern age has done with the discovery of steel-structures, the towns of France putting up five hundred—perhaps

five thousand—churches, erecting them in every available village of northern France.

There is no way to account for the enthusiasm; the unanimity. Each day before the men of that village—perhaps a thousand in number—went to the stone quarries which were six miles away to drag the stone back, Communion was held. If any man acknowledged that he had hatred or bitterness in his heart he was excused for the time being. Imagine. We speak of the *Dark Ages*. I wish some glimmer from the Dark Ages might come to us today, that we might feel the thrill of working shoulder to shoulder, as those men did in the erection of their great white cathedrals. High and majestic the Cathedral of Bourges still stands above the plains, the glorious expression of an entire community.

The inheritance has been cut off from most of us in America. Our ancestors turned their backs on this art when they came here. When I was twenty, it happened that I went on a trip to England with my father, and we toured through the country. Somewhere in that chaplet of cathedrals up the east coast, in Peterborough or Lincoln, was it? We visited the cathedral and noticed that the noses of the statues were all missing. We asked the old verger, who seemed to be as old as the cathedral itself, how this had happened. He gave us a quaint answer which I shall never forget: "Mr. Cromwell's men did it. Mr. Cromwell's men were very busy. If they could not pull down the statues they would at least break their noses." It was from "Mr. Cromwell's men" that we in America descended.

Then came the Revolutionary times in America. Not only the Revolution itself, but the movement which resulted therefrom, a sudden growth developing and penetrating into the plains and unexplored interior. The pioneers' thoughts were not on beauty! We of America must turn our eyes to the beautiful and learn to appreciate it. We shall in time. The movement has just begun. When I went into lower

Bróadway of New York the other day, I was overcome by the beauty of that canyon of stone, that canyon of high buildings ;—but how many of our cities are beautiful? How many of those who are struggling and starving for beauty are vouchsafed a glimpse! How much it might mean in the lives of our toilers if their hunger for beauty could meet with response!

I once asked young Whitcomb Riley how he explained the fact most of our poets and artists had been country boys, and he answered that it was the necessity of self-amusement, which in turn developed the imagination. I remembered the city of Florence, and the great number of country people coming there for a reawakening of the vision of beauty and a storing up of memories of the beautiful for their lives in the country.

“Not money, but the life that a community provides is its real wealth.” Isn’t that true? I remember the words of Spinoza:

“I am certain that the good of this life cannot lie in the possession of those things which for one man to possess is for others to lose, but rather in those things which all may possess alike, and where each man’s prosperity increases his neighbor’s.”

LORADO TAFT

THE SPECIAL CONVOCATION

H. E. THE CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS¹

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—One of the privileges enjoyed by a University is the power to confer honorary degrees on those who, in the words of the Indian Universities Act, by reason of eminent position and attainments are deemed fit and proper persons to receive such degrees. There can be no doubt about the fitness of Sir William Ewart Greaves. He is our Vice-Chancellor and, therefore, one of us, but this evening he is amongst us as a guest, whom we desire to honour and, by honouring him, to honour ourselves. The University has decided to confer upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Law, and it is the established custom on such occasions to refer to the attainments by reason of which the recipient is admitted to the degree. To such an audience, which has had ample opportunity of estimating his services to the advancement of learning, it would be superfluous for me to dilate at length upon the many qualities that distinguish Sir Ewart, and so I shall content myself with touching very briefly upon what he has done.

He joined the High Court of Calcutta as a Puisne Judge in March, 1916, and quickly established a reputation for depth of knowledge, sobriety of judgment and breadth of vision. Not content with carrying out the exacting duties of the Bench, he devoted a great part of his leisure to social work in Calcutta and on the resignation of the late Mr. Bhupendranath Basu from the post of Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ewart Greaves, in response to the Chancellor's invitation,

¹ Speech delivered on the occasion of conferring the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Law on Sir William Ewart Greaves at the Senate House on July 29, 1926.

cheerfully shouldered the responsibilities of a post, which is no sinecure but makes the most exacting demands on the time and energies of the holder. It was, therefore, at great sacrifice of personal leisure and convenience that he accepted the Vice-Chancellorship, but having done so he applied himself with characteristic energy and zeal to his new duties, determined to master the details of the complex organisation which the Calcutta University has become.

He will have held the Vice-Chancellorship with credit to himself and profit to the University for two years and it is only fitting that we should show our appreciation of his services by conferring upon him a doctorship in the subject, which is pre-eminently his own. To carry out merely the ordinary everyday office and routine duties of a Vice-Chancellor needs no amount of time and tact, but Sir Ewart Greaves has done far more than this: he has impressed his individuality upon the University and effected or initiated several measures for its lasting benefit. Let me cite three or four instances.

As you know the finances of the University had for some years been a matter of dispute, and indeed of somewhat acrimonious dispute, between the University and the Government of Bengal: it was largely due to Sir Ewart's patience and tact that a settlement was at length reached to the satisfaction of both parties. His personal influence was also largely responsible for the agreement which was arrived at in connection with the Matriculation Regulations.

His valuable work in the reorganisation of Post-Graduate studies and the staff of that Department and the special interest which he has taken in the Students Welfare Committee are typical of his untiring energy and of the sympathy with which he approached the many difficult problems which a Vice-Chancellor is called upon to solve.

Another reform introduced during Sir Ewart's Vice-Chancellorship—a reform which may perhaps appear small in itself, but which should prove very beneficial to students—

is the earlier publication of examination results. This was the direct result of the Vice-Chancellor's close supervision of the University work and was made easier by the loyal co-operation of the staff. And I imagine that a great deal of the credit for stiffening the standards in this year's examinations may justly be given to him.

Another indication of Sir Ewart's deep far-sighted interest in education is the thought and care which he has given to the revision of the rules for the management of non-Government High Schools. The proposed new rules are designed to protect the interests of teachers and to establish something in the nature of a permanency of tenure among them, and this should result eventually in a marked improvement in the quality of the teaching and so react to the lasting benefit of education in general.

I am aware that this is but an inadequate estimate of the services of Sir Ewart Greaves but it will serve to indicate the directions in which his energies and influence have been exerted; his aims have not been spectacular, but in all his efforts he has had the true interest of education at heart and has made a valuable contribution to the cause of learning.

It will, I think, be a source of gratification to him to know that within a few days of his relinquishing the Vice-Chancellorship the Government of Bengal will ask the Legislative Council for money to complete the third storey of the Asutosh Building, which Sir John Kerr formally opened thirteen months ago. I think we may regard this also as a tangible result of his Vice-Chancellorship and of the better understanding which he created between Government and the University.

In conclusion, let me thank Sir Ewart on behalf of the University for his services and let us hope that he will carry away with him pleasant recollections of comradeship and achievement."

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF RAILWAY STATISTICS

A railway is built to render service of transportation and it is the business of the railway to carry traffic (passengers and goods) from one place to another, and the more such passengers and goods are conveyed by the railway and the more work the railway carriages and wagons are rendered capable of performing the more will be the business of a railway. But it is also essential, for purposes of a railway, taken as a commercial concern, to see that the railway is making profit at the same time.

The public have always demanded, and will continue to demand, cheap rates for goods traffic and cheap fares and expeditious carriage of passengers and transport of goods; and it is also to the interests of the railway that such rates and fares, as far as possible, should be given, but this a railway cannot do until and unless it is able to operate its business economically; that is while utilising the railway to the fullest extent of its capacity it is also the business of a railway manager to see that the cost of operation is also low and the service efficient, and this the railway manager and his officers cannot do unless they closely examine the statistical results.

The aim to be attained through railway statistics is to test the human agency to perform the work, next the mechanical agencies provided by the railways, then the conditions which affect the business of a railway, as well as those conditions that affect the performance of work and, lastly, whether the railway can, by betterment of conditions and through productive expenditure, effect economical management and increase its business and capacity to perform greater service and earn more nett revenue.

In the early stages of railways, only the most ordinary statistics were kept showing the amount of goods and number of passengers carried, the money earned from them separately, the number of trains run and the working expenses under a few main heads—such figures admitted of comparison being made with similar figures for previous years ; but, this did not enable the railway authorities to ascertain what was the cost of each unit of work performed or whether any of the adverse results was due to avoidable or unavoidable causes. As the business and mileage grew and the expenses went up it became necessary to keep most elaborate statistics in order to effect economy and attain efficiency of service to carry more traffic at less cost.

It being recognised that a railway can only serve its own interests best by trying to serve the interests of its customers it should be the object of railways to attain both economy and efficiency, and in most cases both go hand in hand, as for instance, the quicker the goods are carried the more will be the weight of traffic carried by a railway within a given time because of wagons being turned round quicker to loading points. This being so, the result will be more gross revenue to the railway along with efficient service to the public, but unless the service is performed economically there will not be much nett gain to the railway, and, therefore, it will be to the interests of both the public and of the railways to avoid any loss to the railway because if such loss continues the railway will not be able to render the service for any length of time.

It is economy to render increased service for the same amount of cost, but as service consists of certain work done it is essential to examine both the work and the cost or to measure the cost both in £ s. d. and in work done for each unit, and this cannot be done unless an account of each unit of work done, either by human agency or by machinery is kept, analysed and examined with a view to remedy defects and effect improvements.

Revenue Statistics :

The first object of a railway being to get traffic it is necessary to ascertain what business a railway has at present : what money it is earning therefrom. Detailed account of traffic and earnings used to be kept by some of the railways of India on an elaborate basis and were published first every six months and subsequently annually. These statistics were called " Revenue Statistics " and contained the following particulars:—

(a) Traffic (both Passengers and Goods) between two pairs of stations, *viz.*, the total number and weight and the earnings.

(b) The weight and earnings of traffic at each station (*viz.*, total weight of goods received and despatched, and the money earned therefrom, and, similarly, the number of passengers booked from and to and the revenue earned therefrom.)

(c) Description and weight of traffic under various important commodities handled at each station and the railway earnings therefrom.

(d) Details of traffic in more important commodities (which contributed largely towards the earnings of a railway) between two points to and from which they moved and the earnings therefrom, such as weight of cotton carried on the G. I. P. Railway from each of its stations to Bombay, Cawnpore, etc., and the money earned in each case by the railway.

(e) The weight and the freight value of the traffic to and from the important and major ports from and to the interior, *viz.*, from and to every station on the railway concerned to and from the major ports.

The main object of these Revenue statistics is to make comparisons between the results of the present and the past years in order to see if there is any drop or increase in the business of a railway in any particular class of traffic between any two specific points with a view to steps being taken to increase the business, where there is a fall or stagnancy, by such means, within the power of a railway, as will attain this.

These statistics were immensely useful to the trade of India generally, in this sense that they were utilised by both the Imperial and Provincial Governments in the compilation

of statistics of movement of trade both in and out of India. The publication of these statistics has now been more or less abolished by Indian Railways and neither the Provincial Government nor the trade therefore get any benefit from such statistics now, although the Railway officials can, if they desire, get such information as they require from their own records, but this is now more laborious and difficult work than it was when such statistics were maintained and published.

Operative Statistics :

The operative statistics relate to service and cost of operating the traffic and should be prepared intelligently and in a useful form so that they may be used intelligently and usefully.

Next, they should be in the hands of the operating officials not six months after, but very soon after the expiry of the period to which the statistics relate. Therefore, in the case of operative statistics monthly returns are more useful than half-yearly or yearly statistics. Further, comparisons should be drawn with similar figures for the same month for two previous years at least.

The standard unit of statistics is "passenger per unit mile" and "goods per ton mile" and income and cost. The cost per ton of goods carried per mile is affected by the number of train miles and this is again affected by the weight of goods carried per train ; the more weight a train carries the less is the cost per each ton carried by that train, because the cost of running the train is distributed between a larger number of units. Moreover, the weight carried by a train cannot be high unless the load in each wagon on the train is also high. Further, more miles a wagon runs per day more will be the money earned and work turned out by the wagon, because it will be able to make a larger number of trips, and thus bring in more revenue to the railway, within a given period of time than the same wagon would earn if it made lesser number of trips within the same period and thus

carried less weight of goods within that time. All goods statistics are more or less designed to bring about these results.

The following explanations will show how ton miles combined with other figures test the efficiency or otherwise of the results

Route miles = the actual mileage of the railway—excluding the double, triple or quadruple lines or the sidings.

Gross ton miles = weight of traffic plus tare weight of the wagon in which it is carried $\times$ distance carried.

Tons $\times$ no. of miles carried = Ton miles.

Ton miles $\div$ Route miles = average density of traffic per mile of the railway.

Ton miles $\div$ Tons carried = average distance, *i.e.*, the average distance for which traffic is carried.

Train miles = mileage run by trains (no. of trains $\times$ no. of miles run).

Ton miles $\div$ Train miles = Train load, *i.e.*, the average load per each train per mile.

Engine miles = No. of Engines $\times$ no. of miles run.

Wagon miles = No. of miles run by wagons (no. of wagons $\times$ the no. of miles run). Wagon miles per empty and per loaded runs are also shown separately.

Ton miles $\div$ Wagon miles = average load per wagon per mile.

Train hours = indicate the time the engine is employed in carrying a train.

Ton miles $\div$ Train hours = Ton miles carried per train hour.

Ton miles $\div$ loaded wagon miles = average load per loaded vehicle per mile carried.

Shunting hours = time occupied by engines in attaching or detaching wagons *en route* or in station yards, apart from the work done by engines in hauling trains.

Ton miles $\div$ shunting hours = Shows the amount of traffic hauled by shunting engines per hour, *i.e.*, the work turned out by shunting engines.

Ton miles $\div$ Wagon stock in use of a ry. = Wagon user and shows the extent the wagon stock was employed in carrying traffic.

Ton miles $\div$ Engine stock in use of a ry. = Engine user and shews the extent to which the engines were used in carrying traffic.

Ton miles $\div$ Weight of coal consumed = shews the extent of coal used in carrying each ton mile.

The above results are but average results. Although, statistics are worked out by rules of mathematics they have not the exactness of the mathematical problems. The average results do not give the exact information about the cost of and the work done by any one particular unit, but, nevertheless, they shew, if examined month by month with the results of the same period of previous years or of previous months, whether there is economy or wastage. So that average statistics, though not exactly accurate, help both the administrative and the executive to see whether there is wastage or economy, and after all this is the aim and object of statistics. When the average cost of any one of the various units jumps off or the average work done by any unit drops down it then becomes a matter for enquiry with a view to find out, stop and remedy the defects, if any.

As previously stated, the main object of a Railway is to carry traffic and to carry it expeditiously and economically from the starting point to destination.

First and foremost, it is necessary to arrive at a certain basis which would form the criterion for test as to whether these objects are being attained or not from day to day, from week to week, from month to month and from year to year. Some consider that goods ton miles (tonnage carried $\times$ number of miles for which carried) are one of the chief essentials of Railway Goods statistics to gauge all things in regard to Economic working or otherwise. Others, however, think that density of traffic is a better criterion than ton miles because, generally, increased density of traffic per mile of Railway means reduced cost of working per ton per mile as the cost is thereby distributed between a larger number of units—cost

of maintenance of the road, cost of station service, repairs to rolling stock, over-head expenses, supervision charges and many other classes of expenditure, excepting the actual expenses of running extra trains put on to carry the increased traffic, do not generally rise in proportion to the rise in traffic, because such expenses, except the actual running expenses, in most cases are constant for lesser or greater traffic. The constant expenses may be called independent costs as they have to be incurred in any case, whereas the expenses of hauling a train so far as they relate to cost of coal, fuel, oil and wages of the train crew may be called dependent costs. And if a railway is earning from increased trains or traffic more than the dependent cost then it is worth while carrying that traffic or running extra trains for the same. The greater the density of traffic the better will be the net revenue.

It is admitted that by themselves ton miles statistics are of little use ; they are, however, very useful when combined with other figures. The ton miles would first show the density of Goods Traffic per mile of a Railway when divided by the route mileage of the Railway (the route mileage representing the actual length of the Railway but excluding the mileage involved in loop lines, double, triple and quadruple lines and sidings, whether commercial or transportation).

After Goods ton miles, we may take into account the train miles, the engine miles and the vehicle miles. The train miles are arrived at by multiplying the number of trains by the number of miles run by the trains. The total number of miles run by all the engines, say during a month, divided by the number of days in a month give the total engine miles per day and the latter divided by the total number of engines utilised show the number of miles run per engine per day. The vehicle or wagon miles are arrived at by multiplying the total number of miles run by all the vehicles by the number of vehicles utilised in attaining this mileage. The

train miles, the engine miles and the vehicle miles respectively indicate the work done by trains, engines and vehicles. The loaded and empty train miles, the loaded and empty wagon miles, and the light engine mileage should be ascertained for each section of a Railway, then these figures require to be worked out separately for the Up and the Down directions for each section or division of a railway, and on the railways where the coal traffic is heavy Up and Down coal wagon mileage (loaded and empty) should be shown separately from similar figures for the general merchandise traffic, the object of this separation being to make a rough estimate of the cost of operating the coal traffic for which very low rates are charged. The average nett load per each train (which is arrived at by dividing the ton miles by train miles) and the average load per wagon (ton miles divided by loaded wagon miles) show the actual traffic work done by trains and wagons.

Light engine mileage is involved when engines return without loads to work back trains and this occurs when the traffic is heavy in one direction and light on the other. The weight of a train includes the actual weight of the traffic carried by it as well as the weight of the vehicles, the latter being known as the tare load and the former as the nett load of a train. The tare weight and the nett weight added together make up gross load. The empty train mileage, the empty wagon mileage, the light engine mileage and the tare weight of trains represent non-productive work that has to be performed as complementary to the productive work. Then there are the shunting miles which represent the attaching, detaching and moving about of vehicles in a yard as also the work involved in supplying empty wagons to coal mines, stone quarry sidings and also in delivering loaded and empty wagons to mills and factories and drawing them out, either loaded or empty.

The Receipts are analysed by earnings per train mile, per vehicle mile and per ton mile and the working costs are

also similarly analysed and the average gross train load (which is arrived at by adding together the freight ton miles and the tare weight of the trains reckoned in ton miles, and by dividing the total of the two by the number of train miles) shows the average load hauled by train engines and enables one to see its effect on running expenses. From the point of view of a railway which sells transportation, or the space in a wagon, it is essential to see how much a wagon earns per day, per month and per year and what is the total expenditure on haulage per wagon. For this purpose the number of miles run per wagon per month, per engine per month, and the ton miles carried by each engine per month, freight loads per train and per wagon are important items for examination along with the analysis of running expenses for each unit of 1,000 gross ton miles and 1,000 nett ton miles carried.

The more a vehicle earns per day the better it is for a railway and each additional loaded vehicle mile means more money earned. Thus it is clear that the time required at the forwarding stations for loading, at the receiving stations for unloading, at transshipment points, where there are breaks of gauge, and the time taken in the transit of wagons both loaded and empty should be shortened and the load of freight per wagon and per train increased as far as possible. The first and foremost is to see that engines, wagons and trains get through quick, but merely getting trains through quick is not sufficient because most detentions to wagons *en route* occur at roadside stations for want of clearance and particularly in station yards. Detentions to trains at stations mean wastage in coal and oil besides reducing the earning capacity of the wagons.

With more engine miles per day and bigger train loads lesser consumption of coal per ton mile should be the general result. A larger train load means less number of trains for a given amount of traffic and more miles run per engine per day mean quicker movement of wagons, thus increasing the

carrying capacity of wagons within a given time by turning them round quicker.

Train loads are made up of wagon loads. Larger the number of freight wagons per train and bigger the load per each wagon the greater will be the freight train loads. High capacity wagons help better loads per each wagon and for each train provided the capacity is very largely utilised, but if high capacity wagons are not given good loads they only go to add to the dead weight of trains, which is a greater waste. Therefore best endeavours should be made to give as big loads per wagon as can be obtained. Not only this—The Railway Administration should see that they do not provide either too high or too low capacity wagons.

When the balance of traffic in two directions is not even there must be empty running of wagons in one direction. Also when there is shortage of wagons, the empty percentage will probably rise as wagons cannot wait for a load, and must be sent on empty to another station for immediate use. This, again, means more train miles, because for loads that could have been cleared by detaining wagons, instead of returning them empty, empties have to be worked in again to clear the loads.

The main units of work done in connection with freight traffic are ton miles and wagon miles and the main units of costs are the train engine hours and the shunting engine hours. Therefore, if the number of ton miles per day per engine or per engine hour is shown they should serve as a basis for ascertaining whether the traffic is being expeditiously and economically worked or not.

Each Railway in India is required to publish statistics for both passenger and goods traffic operation and they are shewn under the following heads; and the Railways get out for their own use similar statistics for each division of a Railway, and it is essential that these statistics should be carefully studied by all concerned in Traffic Operation. The statistics are published every month.

Average speed of trains.

Average wagon load.

Coaching stock.

Average authorised stock.

Number on the line.

Number under or awaiting repair.

Number overdue repair.

Coaching vehicle miles.

Coal consumption.

Train engines.

Shunting engines including those employed on sidings.

lbs of coal consumed per engine mile.

lbs of coal consumed per 1,000 gross ton miles—

For passenger and proportion of mixed.

For goods and proportion of mixed.

Commodity statistics.

Traffic carried under 30 heads.

Earnings under 30 heads.

Density.

Passenger miles per running track mile per day.

Nett ton miles per running track miles per day.

Earnings.

Passenger.

Goods.

Gross.

Nett.

Engines.

Average authorised stock.

Number available for use.

Number in use daily, by classes.

Number under or awaiting repair.

Engine failures.

Engine hours.

Train engines.

Shunting engines.

Other engines (including assisting engines required to push trains over heavy grades or trains with very heavy loads; assisting engines kept in steam but not required and light engines).

Siding engines.

Engine miles of.

Train engines.

Shunting engines.

Assisting engines required.

Assisting engines not required.

Light engines.

Siding engines.

Engine miles per day per engine in use.

,, ,, per day per engine on the line.

,, ,, per passenger engine per day.

,, ,, per goods engine per day.

,, ,, per mixed engine per day.

,, ,, per engine failure.

Expenditure.

Waking expenses by departments.

Replacements and renewals.

Goods stock.

Average authorised number.

,, number on the line daily.

,, number of unserviceable wagons on the line daily.

Number overdue repair.

Light engine miles per 100 train miles.

Passenger.

Goods.

Loads of Goods trains.

In wagons.

In nett or freight tons.

In gross tons.

Oil Consumption.

For Train engines.

For Passenger and goods vehicles.

Pints of oil consumed per 100 engine miles—

Pints of oil consumed per 1,000 vehicle miles.

Passenger and goods vehicles.

Passengers.

Number originating on a railway by classes.

Number carried, by classes.

Passenger miles, by classes.

Earnings, by classes.

Shunting miles.

Of Passenger engines.

Of Goods engines.

Per 100 train miles.

Passenger.

Goods.

Ton miles.

Net ton miles.

" " " per wagon day.

" " " per locomotive day.

" " " per shunting engine hour.

" " " per train engine hour.

Gross ton miles.

Gross ton miles per total engine hour.

" " " per train engine hour.

Train miles.

Train miles per train engine hour—

Passenger, mixed and goods train separately.

Train miles per total engine hour—

Passenger, mixed and goods.

Wagon miles.

Wagon miles per engine hour.

" " per shunting hour.

" " per wagon day.

It may be useful to give an illustration as to how the earning capacity and the nett profit of a railway may be increased by expediting the despatch of wagons or by increasing the number of miles run per wagon per day.

The G. I. P. Railway for instance, gets foreign wagons loaded with coal and on such wagons it pays, to the owning railway, hire at the rate of Rs. 2-8-0 (or 480 pies) per day, and the daily earning per each such wagon may be arrived at as follows—

(a) 25 tons average load per coal wagon—(the average load is to be increased, as the wagon capacity is to be in-

creased to 32 tons in the near future)—and therefore 25 tons taken as the average load for a coal wagon would be reasonable having regard to the future.

(b) Average number of miles run per wagon per day on the G. I. P. Ry. during November, 1924 was shown as 41.3 (miles) but as coal wagons mostly run through, the average run for coal wagons may be taken at 60 miles, or 50 per cent. higher than the average run of all wagons taken together.

(c) Average earning of the G. I. P. Ry. on coal was shown at 2.62 pies per ton mile during 1923-24.

Therefore, 25 tons $\times$ by 60 miles $\times$ by 2.62 pies, or 3,930 pies will be the earning per wagon per day on the outward or the loaded journey. Now as these wagons go back mostly empty in the return direction, the earning per wagon per day may be taken as $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of 3,930 pies, i.e., 2,620 pies per day (taking the loaded and empty run together on the assumption that on the return journey the wagon being empty and destined direct for a junction would go through quicker say at the rate of 90 miles per day).

But if the hire of Rs. 2-8-0 (480 pies) per day is taken into account the actual earning will be 2,620 pies—480 pies or 2140 pies per day. We have also to take into account the cost of haulage.

Ton miles run per day on the loaded journey is, say, 34 tons (25 tons nett and 9 tons Tare) $\times$ 60 miles = 2040 gross ton miles.

Ton miles on the return journey is 9 tons Tare $\times$ 90 miles per day = 810 gross ton miles.

Therefore adding together the loaded and the empty gross ton miles and dividing it by 2, the average ton miles per day would be $2040 + 810 \div 2 = 1425$ gross ton miles. The amount of coal consumed in hauling 1000 gross ton miles was shown in October 1924 at 191.7 lb (say 192 lb), and taking Rs. 14 per ton as the cost of coal to the G. I. P. Ry. the price of 192 lbs. of coal comes to Rs. 1-3-2 or 230 pies. Now

coal consumed for carrying 1425 gross ton miles will be 273 lbs, and the cost of it at this basis will be 325 pies.

Thus the earning per wagon per day (less hire payment and cost of coal consumption) comes to Rs. 9-15-2 which is arrived at as follows—

2,620 pies—average gross earning per wagon per day less
480 pies—hire of a wagon.

2,140 pies—balance.

Less 325 pies—cost of coal required for hauling 1425 gross ton miles or 1815 pies.

But if the wagon travelled at the rate of 80 miles a day on the loaded journey and 120 miles a day on the return journey the earnings will be 5240 pies per day on the loaded journey, and if the loaded and the empty trips are taken into account it will be say 3493 pies (or $\frac{2}{3}$ of 5240) and taking hire at the rate of 480 pies a day the balance will be 3013 pies and after the coal expenses are deducted at 472 pies per day the wagon earning will be 2541 pies against 1815.

The lesson to be derived from these figures is that the more miles the wagon covers per day, it will earn more money per day, and the eventual time for which total hire would have to be paid would be less because of the wagon turned round and returned to the owning railway quicker, and thus the nett earning will be more, and even if no hire had to be paid and wagons were local to the railway in question, quick turning round of wagons would mean more goods carried by such wagons in a year by their being made available at loading points quicker and thus oftener.

Operative statistics are most essential to determine wastages.

Working Expenses

On Indian Railways, the working expenses are divided under three main heads of expenditure, viz., Ordinary Revenue, Programme Revenue and Fuel. Ordinary Revenue is debited with the whole of the expenditure (exclusive of cost

of railway fuel but inclusive of its carriage on the home railway) that is incurred in order, directly or indirectly, to maintain the railway, to operate the trains and to perform the other services that the railway undertakes to perform. Programme Revenue is debited with the revenue-portion of the total annual expenditure (Capital and Revenue) incurred in order to improve the railway, either to make it more efficient or to make it capable of more extended service, and to pay for renewals and replacements. Fuel is debited with the expenditure incurred on the purchase of fuel intended for use on the railway and with the cost of carriage thereof over foreign railways.

The working expenses are divided into several Abstracts and these are further subdivided into main heads, sub-heads and items in detail. First there are main abstracts which contain details of expenses incurred by the Engineering, Locomotive, Carriage and Wagon, and Traffic Departments. The other abstract is debited with charges incurred by Board of Directors and the Railway Board, Agency, Audit, Stores, Medical, Police and Telegraph Departments.

And the last Abstract is debited with law charges, compensation, rates and taxes, payments to other railways, provident fund and gratuities.

The following are the different heads of expenditure :—

Abstract A—Maintenance of structural works.

1. General administration.
2. Track (Running lines, sidings and yards)
3. Bridges and Tunnels.
4. Other structural works.
5. Equipment.
6. Conservancy of rivers.
7. New minor works and other miscellaneous expenses.
8. Ordinary repairs and maintenance.
9. Replacements and renewals.

Abstract B—Maintenance and supply of locomotive power—

1. General administration.
2. Locomotives—(a) Running repairs. (b) Workshop repairs.

3. Equipment.
4. New minor works, etc.
5. Total ordinary repairs and maintenance.
6. Running staff.
7. Fuel.
8. Oil, Tallow and other stores.
9. Water, wages and stores.
10. Payments to other lines and miscellaneous expenses.
11. Replacements and renewals.

Abstract C—Maintenance of carriage and wagon stock.

1. General administration.
2. Coaching vehicles, ordinary repairs to and maintenance of.
3. Goods vehicles, ordinary repairs to and maintenance of.
4. Equipment and new minor works, etc.
5. Replacements and renewals.

Abstract D—Expenses of traffic department.

1. General administration.
2. Ordinary maintenance and repairs of traffic equipment.
3. Station staff.
4. Train staff including their wages and overtime.
5. Other staff.
6. Fires, lights, General stores, water for stations, sheds and trains, and also water for transit.
7. Clothing for staff.
8. Stationery, forms and tickets.
9. Compensation for goods, etc., lost or damaged.
10. Other operating expenses.
11. Replacement and renewal of traffic equipment

Abstract E—Expenses of General department.

1. General administration, Home expenditure, Indian management and control.
2. Agents office.
3. Accounts and audit department.
4. Stores department.
5. Cost and pay department.
6. Medical department.
7. Telegraph.
8. Police.

9. Miscellaneous expenses.
10. Ordinary repairs and maintenance.

Abstract F—Miscellaneous expenses.

1. Law charges.
2. Compensation other than those included.
3. Rates and taxes.
4. Other expenses.
5. Miscellaneous expenses.

The business of a railway consists of two main branches, *viz.*, goods and coaching. The expenses of a railway to a large extent apply to both equally such as General supervision, General charges, maintenance and renewal of tracks and bridges, maintenance and renewal of machinery, maintenance of stations, but there are many items of expenditure where the costs are direct for either goods or passenger service such as the cost of running goods trains, maintenance of goods rolling stock, cost of operating goods traffic in yards, goods sheds etc., apply to goods service whereas the cost of printing tickets, maintenance of Waiting halls, wages of booking and luggage clerks, cost of running passenger trains, maintenance of passenger rolling stock belong directly to coaching or passenger service. As far as possible, where a clear demarcation line can be drawn the expenses relating to each service may be separated, but as a very large amount of the total expenditure is common to both they are apportioned between goods and passenger service in ratio of gross ton mileage (the actual weight of the traffic plus the tare weight of the train behind the engine, multiplied by the actual distance run by trains, goods or passengers as the case may be) of each. For this purpose there are certain weights taken as equivalent to every passenger and every animal carried by passenger trains.

S. C. GHOSE

Reviews

Unemployment Among Boys, by W. McG. Eagar and H. A. Secretan, with an Introduction by the Rt. Hon'ble H. A. L. Fisher, M.P. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London), 164 pages, 2s.-6d. Nett.

This is a book that no man with a grain of feeling in him can read and keep his temper. It deals with a shameful evil. The writers' earnestness makes itself felt at once. England has a compulsory education. Not only does the State educate the children but when necessary feeds them. They leave school at fourteen, and then a large proportion of them spend their time in idleness. There is no employment for them. These boys and girls are, of course, many of them, the sons of miserably poor parents, who have been counting the days to the time when they should leave school and bring home a small wage. As the authors also point out, in the scarcity of employment, it is the better fed and better dressed ones who manage to get the jobs there are to be had, and it is on the poorest, therefore, that the economic brunt of this state of affairs falls. As they point out also truthfully, it is not a matter merely of a large number of boys being, for a certain time, unemployed. It is a matter of taking them from the schools where public money is spent on educating them, and then giving them a lesson and a training in idleness that will, in many cases, affect the rest of their lives. It will make them loafers.

This juvenile unemployment might very well be described among the most hideous crimes our "civilisation" is guilty of. But the writers miss the point, which is this. The British, in whose country this occurs, will tell us that they are Christians. Now Christ—if we are to believe the Gospels—told his followers that they are not to go to church and repeat creeds, giving lip service which any hypocrite can do, but to show their belief in another way.

He said that the very last and very least of those who are in want must be looked upon as himself among them, and their service done to him. Christians, therefore, are only making themselves ridiculous, to put it bluntly, when they talk about belief until they make arrangements to help "unto this last," to quote the words of the Gospel. This is the way in which those Christians do it; allowing their children to rot in idleness! We must, as the Germans say, know how to drive out the hens without

trampling down the grass. We must own that there are, after all, wonderful organisations in Great Britain, as indeed in all Christian countries, dealing with poverty in all its forms. Let us not, in our natural indignation, in reading a book like this, fail to be just. But we must admit that this demoralisation of youth in a professedly Christian country is as humiliating as anything could be. The authors say that the fault is with social reformers, that the legislators are ready to do something but they want social reformers to tell them more precisely what. That sounds very nice but as everybody with common sense has been thundering at them, "Look over the hedge and see what your neighbours are doing." The Swiss get their tramps and vagrants together, and make them self-supporting, by organising them well to produce most of the necessities of life for themselves. For Heaven's sake—or to put it in Christian language—for Christ's sake then, can you not do for your boys what the Swiss do for their tramps?

The way in which you could do it is quite obvious. A number of boys go to quite uneducative occupations; that is the next worst thing to unemployment. Make it law, then, that every boy, in any uneducative employment, must spend every alternate day, or alternate week, working in an organisation like the Swiss one, producing foodstuffs to bring home. Then each employer of such boys would have to take two instead of one—one being in this "educational colony" and one on the job, turn about. Every economist can tell you that the boy would be likely to bring home more value in kind from the "educational colony," than he would in wage, from his daily employment. Here, then, is a solution for your problem, if you really want to solve it, and a solution at the same time for that very great problem of these "blind-alley occupations." "The (London) Spectator" is calling attention to this solution at the present moment.

J. W. PETAVEL

Portugueses E Maratas-I-Shivaji, Professor P. Pissurlencar, Nova Goa—Imprensa Nacional, 1926.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, March-June, 1924, Mr. Jadu Nath Sarkar asserted that the Portuguese source of Maratha History is utterly useless. The pamphlet under review can be regarded as a crushing reply to that assertion. Prof Pissurlencar has published in this little but illuminating volume many original

papers hitherto unpublished and therefore unknown except to the initiated few and he has conclusively demonstrated that no serious student of Maratha History can afford to ignore this important source if he wants to make an exhaustive study of the political and military institutions of the Marathas. Some of these papers had already been published in their English version in the pages of this *Review* last year. Prof. Pissurlencar has not only included them in their original but has further brought to light many new papers of exceptional value. We unhesitatingly commend this book to all interested in Indian History and hope that the author will bring down his work to the closing years of the Maratha period. None can do this important work better than Prof. Pissurlencar and it will be a serious loss to Maratha History if he allows himself to be diverted in some other direction.

S. N. S.

The Ao Naga Tribe of Assam—A study in Ethnology and Sociology—by William Carson Smith, A.M., Ph.D. (Chicago)—with an introduction by J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., D.Sc., M.A. (Macmillan & Co., 1925, pp. xxvii. 244).

Assam is fortunate in having an enthusiastic Director of Ethnography under whose fostering care an excellent series of monographs have been forthcoming. Like all books of the series we have got well-written chapters on habitat of the people, personal appearance, domestic life, social organisation, religion and magic. The specially valuable chapters are those which discuss the place of the Ao Nagas in the human family and the changes in them through contacts with more advanced peoples. Mr. Smith has discussed at length the distribution of thirteen traits more or less common to Assam hill-tribes and some tribes in Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sumatra and the Philippines but unfortunately he has failed to compare them with the Chota Nagpur tribes who have bachelors' dormitories and aversion to milk, etc., like them. He has not also entered into the question of culture-zones nor do we find any physical measurements biometrically handled. The chapter on Contact is the best-written; here again the influence of the modern missionary is more emphasised than that of Hinduism. But in

spite of all these, this is a valuable addition to our knowledge of Assam tribes and the comparative outlook and psychological discussions, so rare in Indian ethnographical manuals, has made it a good introductory study for Indian students of Anthropology.

P. M.

Source Book in Anthropology—by A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Watermann (University of California Press, Berkeley—Second Printing, 1924).

This is a closely printed composition from the master-minds in Anthropology with a bibliography of the classics. Students of Anthropology preparing for a degree would find in it an invaluable aid towards a proper grasp of the subject. Fifty-four essays are included embracing as far as possible all the different avenues of Anthropological interest, physical as well as cultural. More than half of the contents though they are meant to illustrate some general cultural principles is drawn from American examples and as such appeals more to the American student who would be more familiar with them. Darwin and Huxley, Galton and Von Luschen have been drawn upon but none of the French masters do we meet with except Deniker. As from reading Boule and Breuil's works one takes to think of Anthropology as a French science, here American Anthropology seems to crowd out others from the canvas. In one sense the book is invaluable as giving us a good idea of the progress of the science and its main canons in America. However, all students would find in it an inestimable boon.

P. M.

Ramanand to Ram Tirath—Lives of the Saints of Northern India including the Sikh Gurus—(Natesan & Co., 1925). Pp. 1-256, Price Rs. 1-8.

In these days when Christian scholars like Dr. Farquhar try to ascribe all the spiritual upheaval of modern India to Christian influence—it is good to be reminded by our most enterprising publishers of some of the spiritual foundations of mediæval and modern Hinduism. Ramanand, Kabir, Nanak, Ravi Das, Mira Bai, Vallabhacharyya, Tulasi Das, Nanak's

successors, Guru Govind Singh, Swami Virajanand, Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Ram Tirath—the subject-matter of the book—are treated well lest we forget that Hinduism is still a plant in full bloom. One of course wishes that the list was more complete, that Ramkrishna—the Great Dakhineswar luminary and his thundering disciple Vivekanand as well as the supremely loving figures of Lord Gauranga and his associates had graced the book. But Bengal might have been left out—one fails to understand why such mighty figures as Sivadayal Sinha of Agra and his followers Saligram Sinha and Brahmasankar Misra, the founders of a highly powerful spiritual movement in U. P. have been lost sight of. Here, again, we find that all complete books are by Christian scholars, *e.g.*, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, where we have a missionary to contend with.

Ramanand stands as the bridge between old India and the new dawn in Kavir, the idol of Hindus and Mahomedans alike and the inspirer of the greatest modern poet of Bengal, Rabindranath. The essay on Kavir is the most well-written, bedecked with gems from Rabindranath, Macauliffe and Evelyn Underhill. The other essays would be profitable study for anybody who does not forget that India has new thought legacies which though not divorced from the past entirely is building up a new idea-system for her next culture-cycle of world-wide importance.

P. M.

The Man No-body Knows—A discovery of Jesus, by Bruce Barton.

The one supreme interest of all human beings in one human being is in his human qualities. Towering figures in history, great leaders, renowned philosophers, famous writers have been held in awe by their own and succeeding generations of hero worshippers, and as the centuries close over such men their names and their memory are enfolded in a mist and a halo that forever preclude intimate knowledge.

So, when any painstaking biographer offers to the world the intimate details of a person of prominence—living or dead—tells of the tone of his voice, and his love of fishing, the books in his library, the pranks of his youth,—then the world pricks up its ears and listens raptly.

It might be said of the great, as it has been written of the evil of one's life, that the myths about a man live after him; the truth is all

interred with his bones. So of Jesus Christ. The man passed on; and the imagination of his age lived after him. Such is the halo about him that it is generally depicted in the paintings of him. And into these paintings the Christian era has instilled a wan-ness and a weariness that it is a pleasure to now see withdrawn. And this has been done for a grateful world in a masterly way by Bruce Barton in *The Man Nobody Knows—A Discovery of Jesus*. This book is a classic that will endure.

Bruce Barton is a business man. Son of a clergyman, and therefore with a thorough grounding in the subject he treats, he is head of one of the very largest advertising agencies in the United States. There is no preaching in *The Man Nobody Knows*. This book is not a religious treatise; it is a twentieth century analysis of actual events as the Bible reveals them. Mr. Barton paints a flesh-and-blood picture of Christ, not as a myth, not as a demi-god, but as a Galilean visionist as he might appear to a present-day westerner wandering in the outskirts of Jerusalem. Not irreverently, not irreligiously; with deepest respect, rather, we are brought face to face with Jesus of Nazareth, the man, the superman,—strong, healthy, sympathetic, of irresistible magnetism, silencing in anticipation the half-uttered doubt; we meet him in the broad sunlight, uncloaked by mystery. We meet him as a man whom we have watched develop, about whom we have held no preconceived ideas. We see him emerge from his struggle with doubt and with his work before him, proceed calmly and surely to its execution. We see him talking in the market-places of history, not as an orator or campaigner, but informally, intimately in quiet converse with groups of listeners. And we, too, listen with the crowds, and are convinced.

Christianity has ruled the western world for many years. It has expanded and grown, it has changed its form, its meaning, and its use. It has gained adherents in geometric proportion, and it has lost its intimate hold on a world ever more critical, more scientific, more literal-minded. But, willingly or unwillingly, we must each admit that Christianity is a force that has pervaded the world, and has pervaded us. There is no excuse for us not to understand it in its present significance. Any work that will make such understanding easier is a vital and invaluable treasure. *The Man Nobody Knows* is such a work.

H. M. BRATTER.

Ourselfes

THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR EWART GREAVES.

The proceedings of the Senate of the Calcutta University, dated the 7th August, 1926, will, we trust, be read with great interest by all those who desire autonomy for the universities in India.

Sir Nilratan Sircar moved "that the Senate desire to place on record their cordial appreciation of the services rendered to the University by the Hon'ble Justice Sir William Ewart Greaves, Kt., M.A., D.L., during the Vice-Chancellorship of the University. He has devoted himself in the most whole-hearted manner to the best interests of the University and spared neither time nor energy in connection with the onerous duties connected with the appointment. Many improvements in University Organisation have owed much to his careful consideration, and the University will long remember with gratitude his exceedingly courteous conduct of the business of both the Syndicate and the Senate."

He said: This will be the last meeting of the Senate to be presided over by Sir Ewart Greaves. Gentlemen, two years ago we accorded a hearty welcome to the then Mr. Justice Greaves on the assumption of the functions of the Vice-Chancellor of this University. At that time we were in a deep gloom, having lost our great leader only four months ago and then soon after that having lost Mr. Bhupendranath Bose, another Vice-Chancellor. Gentlemen, as our felicitations were the most cordial on that day, our grief to-day when we are going to part with Sir Ewart Greaves is equally profound. During the short time of two years he has devoted himself so earnestly, energetically, enthusiastically to the performance of his duties in the University that he has laid us under a deep debt of gratitude which we feel we cannot repay. He has served the University indirectly in another way. He has for all time to come dispelled the misgiving that still lingers in certain minds that it is only paid work is responsible, that honorary work cannot be responsible.

Gentlemen, you all know that during his tenure of office there have been many improvements in the internal organisation of the University—improvements connected with the inner working of our University and improvements connected with the relationship in which we stand to the Government. All these questions that arise in these connections were tackled by him in a spirit of idealistic sympathetic co-operation on the one hand and firmness and fearless independence based upon a strong sense of justice on the other. I may mention that but for his firmness and his idealistic co-operation the reorganisation of the Post-graduate department which is the pride of the University to-day would have been impossible. Besides the question of re-organisation of the Post-graduate department, other questions faced him. One of them which he tackled and was tackling for some time past you have decided to-day so far as you are concerned. There was another which was equally important,—I mean the financial embarrassment of the University which his hard work and energetic co-operation helped to bring to a satisfactory solution. For that we owe all our thanks to the Government also. Then there is another question which is very important and which is only half finished, and that is the formulation of a scheme for introducing agricultural education in the University. We hope that in future the University will take it up and place it before Government.

Gentlemen, these were works very hard indeed. During the last two years, except during a few holidays, there was hardly an evening that Sir Ewart Greaves could call his own. He was here pinned to his chair from 5 to 8 every evening. As regards Sundays he reminds us of a passage in Shakespeare that the busy work did not separate Sunday from the week.

What was the incentive to all this work? Behind this outstanding cultured personality I find a substratum of deep sympathy amounting to love leading on to service and fearless independence coupled with unbounded tact. These are assets which appeal to any people in the world and certainly to the impressionable people of Bengal. We claim him as our own. It is a great consolation to us that he is not going to leave us now. After his return from long leave, I believe, he will be here for many many years to grace the Senate with his imposing personality and inspire us with his spirit to work in the cause of education. Gentlemen, it is a great consolation to us, even in the midst of this overpowering grief to-night, that we have to say *Au revoir* and not *Adieu*.

Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart said : At the request of the mover I second this motion with the greatest readiness. I wish this privilege had been laid

on some more senior member of the Syndicate and I do not wish to say more at this late hour except to say how very fully I share the ideas which have been expressed by Sir Nilratan Sircar. We have had differences amongst the members of the Senate but there is one thing in which we are all agreed to-night, it is in our feeling of gratitude for the great services which have been rendered to us by our present Vice-Chancellor and in our regret at parting with him as the occupant of the Chair of this Senate.

Dr. Hiralal Halldar said : On behalf of my colleagues in the Post-graduate department I rise to support this motion. Sir Ewart Greaves' administration will ever remain memorable in the history of this University. During two short years of his tenure of office he has succeeded in stabilising the Post-graduate department of this University. When he assumed this high office two years ago many of us doubted whether he would be able to find much time for doing University work but he soon surprised us by the zeal and energy with which he devoted himself to his duties. With the exception of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee no one has ever worked harder for the University. Sir Ewart has endeared himself to everyone, high and low, in this University. In the Post-graduate department his popularity is unbounded. The secret of his popularity is his sense of justice, high-mindedness, and, above all, his love for the Indians. Whatever may be the faults of Bengalis they cannot be surpassed in their capacity for reciprocating kindness. If all Englishmen in this country were like Sir Ewart the racial troubles with which we are so familiar would never have arisen.

Sir Ewart Greaves is going away from us. I do not know what is in store for this University. The situation is gloomy and disquieting. Dark clouds are visible on the horizon and signs of thunderstorms are not wanting. But perhaps on this occasion I should not give expression to depressing sentiments. It is a matter of great regret that it should have been impossible for Sir Ewart to continue to hold his high office. We shall never cease to think of him with love and high regard, and his courtesy and kindly dealings with us will never fade from our minds.

Principal Jnanranjan Banerjee : I have great pleasure—need I pause and add—a melancholy pleasure, I say melancholy pleasure for we are bidding farewell to Sir Ewart Greaves who is going to lay down his high office of Vice-Chancellor I have great pleasure in supporting Sir Nilratan Sircar's motion. Sir Ewart Greaves as Vice-Chancellor has endeared himself to all of us by three outstanding qualities. As the champion of the rights of the University, as one who looked at problems of education from the point of view of educational efficiency alone and lastly as one who has

shown that he is capable of very hard and self-sacrificing work in the interests of the people of Bengal, we owe a debt of gratitude to him which cannot be repaid. The Calcutta University has been singularly fortunate in the past in having on its rolls of Vice-Chancellors very eminent men. On these rolls is the name of Sir Henry Maine, a jurist of world-wide reputation. And there is the name on the rolls of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, a man who worked himself to death by his great and self-sacrificing work in the cause of the University. On the same rolls will stand the name of Sir Ewart Greaves whose contributions to the problems of the University will not be forgotten, not only by the present generation but I am sure by generations unborn. As we think specially of the great work he did for the stabilisation of the Post-graduate department of this University, which is its crown of glory and honour, let us with one voice say that in bidding farewell to Sir Ewart Greaves we feel keenly our loss, we feel keenly that the University is going to sustain an irreparable loss. His work will ever remain enshrined in the tablets of the hearts of the people of Bengal because his only motive was to do good to the University and to hold aloft the banner of high education in the country.

Rev. Dr. G. Howells: I think one great contribution that Sir Ewart Greaves has made to this University is that he has brought the judicial mind of the High Court Judge into our work and administration. It would be a sad day for the University if in making the appointments to the high position of Vice-Chancellor that aspect is forgotten. The impartiality of High Court Judges, as we go back into University history, has, I consider, been a great asset and a great contribution. We owe a lot to Judges and we owe a good deal even to the despised lawyers.

Mr. Jyotischandra Mitra: Sir, may I be permitted to bear testimony to the very successful way in which you handled the finances of the University during the tenure of your office as Vice-Chancellor. Four years ago I had occasion to criticise the University finances in my official capacity and the position was so confused that even the most sanguine optimist could not have forecasted that the finances could be set right in so short a time. There were serious misgivings then as to the continuance, except perhaps in a mutilated form, of the Post-graduate Department, and there was considerable feeling of insecurity in the minds of scholars engaged in that branch as to their future. The first step towards stabilisation was taken when the Post-graduate branch was reorganised and the scale of appointments and scale of salaries were fixed and the final stage was reached when the question of recurring grants from Government was

settled. It will certainly be quite easy for your successor to carry on the administration of the Department with practically no anxiety for the future. Your tenure, Sir, of the office of Vice-Chancellor is certainly a landmark in the history of the financial administration of the University. By financial control is not meant that one has to sit tight and refuse every kind of expenditure, however necessary it may be for the administration, for, that would frustrate the very object for which an Institution exists. It is equally bad no doubt to go on sanctioning expenditure which is beyond our resources. But the important thing is to reconcile the departmental demands with the resources at our disposal and this you have accomplished very successfully. I believe no department can complain that you have ever sacrificed the interests of the University simply for the purpose of economy.

I feel it a proud privilege, Sir, to associate myself with the resolution moved by Sir Nilratan Sircar.

Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary : I desire to associate myself very wholeheartedly with the motion and subscribe to everything that has been said. As one who has had the privilege of occupying the Chair before him, like my friend on my left (Sir Nilratan Sircar), I can feel for and sympathise with all who have occasion for occupying that Chair. I do not know what Dr. Hiralal Halder's pessimism refers to. If it is with regard to the succession of office, I am sure that the Senate will give all occupants of the Chair proper chances and support and will not allow issues to be clouded by the past. I extended to Sir Ewart Greaves my sympathy when he came in and I accord to him my felicitations as he is about to vacate that Chair after having worthily done his work. I should like to say, added to all that has been said, that he is the true type of genuine English gentleman, a Liberal who has fully justified his Christian name of William Ewart; he has done the University services that will not be readily forgotten.

Prof. C. V. Raman : My point of view is that not of a financier or administrator but of the poor scholar and the test that I apply to the successful Vice-Chancellor is, Has he appreciated the work of the scholar? Has he understood the scholar's point of view? I cannot really speak on this occasion as I would like to speak but I feel that to all of us in the University it is a calamity that Sir Ewart Greaves is leaving us at this moment.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee : As a very humble admirer of yourself, Sir, may I give expression to my feeling of admiration and the deep sense

of sorrow which I feel along with my co-workers in the Senate? Sir, you have been the truest type of an Englishman, keenly alive to the true traditions of your race. You have been, Sir, a true sportsman. Differences of opinion that have existed between us, Sir, you have, with your sportsman-like instinct and your loyalty to the institution, overborne.

Khan Bahadur Tasaddug Ahmad: On behalf of the thousand and odd secondary schools spread over Bengal I fully associate myself with what has fallen from Sir Nilratan Sircar. I think all that has been done for the cause of secondary education during these two years will not find its equal in the history of the University here. I feel, Sir, that it was your personal interest in the matter of secondary education that has made this possible.

Mr. Johan Van Manen: After all that we have heard from the very heart and centre of this House allow the periphery also to add a word. We have learnt to respect you, Sir, to admire you and we have felt that personal human touch which makes for affection.

Mr. Manmathanath Roy: I shall only give expression to what is uttermost in my mind. We shall look forward anxiously to your return in our midst and we shall be anxious although you may not be in the Chair to work under your guidance and leadership.

Mr. Girishchandra Bose: While fully and whole-heartedly associating myself with every word that has fallen from the mover of the resolution and those who spoke before me, I cannot let this occasion pass with a silent vote. On the eve of losing our dear and beloved Vice-Chancellor, the only consolation lies in the thought that was so well expressed by the poet, "It is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all."

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Sir Ewart Greaves then replied, as follows:

Gentlemen, I am very grateful indeed to you this evening for the kind resolution which you have just passed and I am also extremely grateful to Sir Nilratan and the other gentlemen who have spoken for the very kindly references they have made to myself, far too kind, and far too generous for anything that I have done on behalf of the University.

This is the first time that I have had an opportunity of thanking you for the great honour which you conferred upon me on the Thursday week of Doctor of Law of the University of Calcutta. Believe me that of such distinctions as have come to me in the course of my life I value more than

any other the free and spontaneous gift of a great University that came to me in the gift of that degree. But you were not content with that, and last Tuesday you gave in my honour that splendid party within these walls which you all attended and many others who are not here to-night. I have grateful remembrance of the magnificent present given to me out of the kindness of their hearts by the Fellows of the University and Members of the Post-Graduate Department. Really it is I that ought to thank you to-night for the kindness that has been shown to me during my two years of office. I have received from the time when I first occupied this Chair unceasing kindness and assistance from everyone with whom I have come into contact, from the Members of the Senate, from the Syndicate, from the Registrar, from the Controller, the Assistant Registrar and the Assistant Controller and the Accountant, and all the others who serve the University in various capacities. And I should be lacking in my duty if I did not record my deep sense of gratitude for all that has been done by you and by the Registrar, by the Controller and others to make smooth my task as Vice-Chancellor of this great University.

One thing which has struck me more than anything else so far as this University is concerned is the great love and devotion that it excites amongst its sons. Day after day, week after week, I see men carrying the heavy burden of other professions, busy doctors and others, giving of their time and of their leisure to the work of the University. There must be something in a University that can attract the labour and the love of the diversity of persons who work within these walls and outside these walls on its behalf. I cannot mention any individual name to-night but as I look round here I see many of those devoted workers who must leave very little leisure to themselves after discharging the heavy burdens of their different responsibilities. That I shall always remember as the great feature of Calcutta University, the love and devotion that it excites amongst its sons.

Gentlemen, the hour is late, and I have not the time to dwell on some of the work which has fallen to my lot to share with you during the past two years. I can only make a short and passing reference. It has been a great pleasure to have done something for the establishment and stabilisation of the Post-graduate department. I have never thought that the Post-graduate department has ever been fairly treated or been given a fair chance. From its infancy it has been the subject of attack, and last year as we were struggling for a grant I knew full well what the department was suffering from anxiety as to its position owing to the financial

uncertainty, I mean the anxiety of the lecturers and the professors of that department. Now that it is to some extent stabilised I am sure that it will show what it is capable of and it will add to the work that it has already done and the honour it has already won on behalf of the University.

The Secondary Board is another matter on which we have worked together and I am glad, indeed, to have been present at this evening's discussion, but there is another matter which indeed I am very sorry has not been brought to fruition in my time, I mean the Matriculation Regulations. I cannot hold the Government free from blame so far as this is concerned. The Regulations were practically agreed when we were told that we must lay before Government before they would sanction them a scheme for the improvement of the teaching of English in the schools. I offered His Excellency the Chancellor an assurance that a scheme would be worked out but he insisted that a scheme should be placed before Government before sanction was given. We worked out a scheme during Easter. That came before the Syndicate and they quite legitimately made certain alterations, really rather minor alterations so far as I can see, in the Report of the Committee on the teaching of English. Imagine our surprise when we found that the Government told us in somewhat curt terms that these alterations made the report unacceptable to them and that the Regulations would not be accepted until the alterations objected to are removed. That is a question that must go forward to an issue. I have worked for peace so far as the University is concerned with Government, but I am afraid that during the past few months I have found it somewhat difficult. There has been exhibited a callous indifference to the feelings of the University during the past few months and there has been a meticulous interference in many of the matters which the University itself should control, and which it is impossible,—I speak it here and I am sure with the concurrence of the ex-Vice Chancellors, who sit to my left—to control from the Secretariat.

Government has been given certain powers over the University but those must be used with wisdom and discretion and that wisdom and discretion have not been obvious during the past few months. I am sorry to have to say this,—I did not want to introduce words of that kind into a farewell address,—but I think it is only right that I should express what I feel with regard to what has happened to the Matriculation Regulations, and to one or two other matters in the University during the past few months.

So much as far as the past is concerned. What of the future? It is no use concealing from ourselves that the appointment of my successor has roused feelings amongst many of those who serve the University well, but I desire to make this appeal to you, that you should let bygones be bygones so far as the past is concerned. There are things that have been written that ought never to have been written, that have caused pain, bitterness and sorrow to many of us who are here present, but after all the University is greater than persons and personalities, and let us sink all that and let us make up our mind that we will work whole-heartedly so far as it is possible with the gentleman who is to occupy the position that I hold this evening. I do make that earnest appeal to you on his behalf that you should so far as possible forget what has gone before and remember the great interests of the University and the work that lies before the University and make up your mind that so far as possible you will ignore the past and work with him for a great and advancing future for this University.

It has been a great pleasure to me, a very great honour, to occupy the position of Vice-Chancellor of this University during the past two years. Nobody I think who occupies that position can but feel the great honour that is conferred upon him when he is asked to hold the position. So far as I am concerned it has brought many new interests and many new friendships, and although the work has been heavy, it is with regret that I lay down my office.

I am not saying farewell because as has been stated to you this evening, although I cease to be Vice-Chancellor I remain a Fellow of the University, and I hope that my occasions for service are not finished so far as this University is concerned. May the revolving years as they go by bring peace and advancement to this University and add to the kudos and the honour which it already bears throughout India and throughout the civilised world.

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UNVEILING OF THE PORTRAIT OF THE MAHARAJA OF DARBHANGA.

The following speech was delivered by the Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves at the time of the unveiling of the portrait of

the Hon'ble Sir Rameswar Singh, Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, at Darbhanga Buildings, Calcutta University :

"The nucleus of the University Library was a donation of Rs. 5,000 made to the University by Babu Joykissen Mookerjee of Uttarpura in the year 1869.

To that was added in the year 1874 a sum of Rs. 3,500 from the surplus funds of the University. In that year a Committee appointed by the Syndicate of the University recommended that it was desirable to begin the creation of a Library by procuring such books as should render the Calcutta University Library supplementary to the other Libraries then existing in Calcutta. From such humble beginnings the great Darbhanga Library, as we now know it, has sprung. Further transfers were from time to time made by the University from its surplus income to the Library Fund and the Library now contains, besides works on English Literature and works on the chief authorities on Indian Antiquities, almost complete sets of the Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Latin, French and German classics and fairly good collections in Mathematics, Philosophy, Religion, History (including Biography, Geography and Travels), Philology and Anthropology. And it has an up-to-date collection of books on Economics, Politics and Sociology. It has acquired valuable manuscripts in the Bengalee and Tibetan Languages.

The Darbhanga Library Building, as we know it, cost a sum of Rs. 8,00,000. Of this sum Rs. 2,00,000 was contributed by Government, Rs. 3,50,000 from the surplus funds of the University and Rs. 2,50,000 by the Hon'ble Sir Rameswar Singh, K.C.I.E., Maharajah of Darbhanga. The Maharajah gave his princely gift in 1908 and made the erection of the Library possible and it was, therefore, only in accordance with the fitness of things that in grateful remembrance of his generosity this building should be called after him so that not only we of this generation but those who come after us should recall the beneficent liberality of the Maharajah.

The building, though intended for a Library, has served other useful purposes and in it are accommodated the University Law College and the University Offices and the top floor is utilised as an examination hall and accommodates seven hundred candidates.

The University Library is every year demanding more space for its very necessary growth and expansion and the time is not far distant when the University Law College and the other activities carried on within these walls must seek another house to make more space available for the Library and I do hope that in the very near future relief may be afforded by the addition of the other stories to the Asutosh Building.

We are met here this afternoon to unveil a portrait of the Maharajah of Darbhanga presented by him to this University and we are glad indeed to have this portrait of the generous donor after whom the Library is named and to whose munificence this building is very largely due.

May other generous donors be inspired by his example.

At the present time the growth of the teaching of Science in the University under our able band of lecturers and Professors at the College of Science in Upper Circular Road, which the University owes to the generosity of the late Sir Taraknath Palit, makes it imperative that further provision should be made for a great library of scientific works and periodicals in connection with that College and I earnestly appeal to-day to the wealthy in Bengal to imitate and follow the example of the Maharajah of Darbhanga in this direction.

I now have pleasure in unveiling the portrait of the Maharajah of Darbhanga which very fittingly will, henceforth, occupy a prominent place in this Building which the University largely owes to his generosity."

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SIR P. C. RAY AT THE EMPIRE UNIVERSITIES CONGRESS.

We give below the full text of Sir P. C. Ray's speech as taken down by the official reporter of the Universities Bureau. It will, we hope, be read with attention by our readers, specially at a critical juncture like this when we stand on the "bridge of sighs."

"I did not come prepared to speak on this subject but as I find our High Commissioner (in whom I recognise one of my former pupils) is absent on account of illness and some other members, too, I venture to appear on this platform, where I consider it a privilege to say a few words.

In 1912 at the first Congress of the Universities of the Empire, I was called upon to address the Congress; so I am not in a strange position and I believe our present Chairman himself presided on one of those occasions.

My principal object in speaking to you to-day is to present to you our unfortunate position in Bengal. I hope the weighty words of wisdom fallen from the lips of your honoured Chancellor will receive due and careful attention at the hands of the Government of India as well as that of Bengal. You know how the political reform of 1919, the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme has affected the universities of India, specially that of Bengal. The Universities having been provincialised by that Scheme, when we of the Calcutta University asked the Government of India to help us they refer us to the Government of Bengal; while the latter in its turn takes shelter behind the Meston award—we are thus between the devil and the deep sea. As for private munificence for research work we have a splendid example in the Bangalore Institute of Science, which owes its existence to the generosity of only one Indian, the late Mr. J. N. Tata of Bombay. Bombay is the land of millionaires and multi-millionaires. Though nothing as compared with it we, in Bengal, have not been entirely barren, our College of Science owes its existence to the large-heartedness of two of Bengal's great sons, the first being Sir T. N. Palit, who gave away fifteen lakhs of rupees shortly before his death, which would represent £100,000 sterling. He was only a lawyer and had to deprive his children of their dues to do it, for he practically gave away everything he owned for the foundation of the College of Science.

He was followed by another distinguished citizen, also a lawyer, the late Sir Rash Behari Ghosh, one of the foremost and most talented men in the forensic line. He gave away some £150,000, practically also everything he owned, for the benefit of higher education in science. We have

had every help from the Indian quarter and the College of Science represents altogether rupees sixty lakhs.

But here comes the tragedy of the whole thing. Whenever we approach the Government of India or that of Bengal, as I have already said, we are told that there are no funds to spare though when grandiose Imperial Schemes arise money flows like water. I have had occasions to criticise the niggardly parsimony of our Governments. We are treated as so many *Oliver Twists*—I can only hope that the weighty words we have heard will be broadcasted and even sent by the Reuter—at any rate a summary of it—and by the next mail the whole of the subject will be sent to the papers and will be read and digested in every part of India, because it is the most important part of the British Empire and there is no reason why unification of the higher branches of science should not be pursued there as anywhere else.

I would specially draw attention to one fact. The great Indian nation which I represent was once pre-eminent in the glorious days of the past. Max Müller somewhere says that if the Hindus had nothing else but presented the European world with the symbolic notation and the Arabic numerals—they are not Arabic except that Arabs acted as intermediaries—the debt of the Empire would have been unrequitable. The Hindu has great potential abilities and this great university hallowed with the traditions and prescriptions of ages does not need to be told of it. It has ample proof of the Hindu intellect and what it is capable of, if properly encouraged and nourished. I have only to cite the instances of a Paranjpye, a Ramanujam, and last but not the least, a Jagadis Chunder Bose—all of whom were in the seminaries on the banks of the Cam.

I consider I have a double right to speak. First, not only because I have already once before spoken under the auspices of the great Chancellor of this University but because nearly half a century ago I was for six years at a stretch a student of one of the great universities of the North of which your distinguished Chancellor also happens to be the Chancellor. To use the language of a chemist, I would say, I am linked to him by double chemical affinity.

I hope that the Government of India, or that of Bengal whichever it may be, will now come forward and give us substantial help for the University College of Science. I have calculated that we have only received two per cent. help from the Government, whereas 98 per cent. have been contributed by our own people."

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TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

Here is an interesting correspondence between the Government of Bengal and the University of Calcutta. Sir P. C. Ray's speech at the Universities Congress will be read with religious attention in the light of the events as recorded in this correspondence:

"BENGAL SECRETARIAT,
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

Darjeeling, the 29th May, 1926.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter No. G-138, of the 15th of May, 1926, forwarding a report of the Committee appointed by the Syndicate to consider the teaching of English in Secondary Schools, I am directed to inform you that Government cannot accept the report of the Committee as modified by the Syndicate as sufficient for safeguarding the teaching of English, a condition necessary to their agreement to any modification in the Regulations of the Matriculation Examination to provide for the introduction of teaching in the Vernacular. While Government are prepared to agree to the suggested modifications in clauses (a), (b) and (c) (4), and to the proposed change of date in (c) (3), they cannot accept the other modifications proposed which impair the authority of the Directors of Public Instruction as recommending or examining authorities.

Yours faithfully,
J. H. LINDSAY.

THE REGISTRAR,
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY."

To this the Registrar replied as follows:

"I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. G-138, dated the 15th May, 1926, in which it is intimated that Government cannot accept the report of the Committee for the teaching of English as modified by the Syndicate, as sufficient for safeguarding the teaching of English.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate regret the attitude taken up by Government in the matter which seems to them an unnecessary and unwarranted interference in details of School administration which are vested in the University by Statute and by the Regulations.

The recognition of schools entitled to present candidates for admission to the Matriculation Examination of the University is a matter for the University alone. In practice, owing to the University having no inspecting staff of his own, inspection of schools is, at the request of the University, carried on by Inspectors of Schools who are under the Director of Public Instruction. The Reports of the Inspectors are forwarded to the University through the Director of Public Instruction and are acted on or not as the University think fit. In some cases, when not satisfied with the Inspector's report, the University have deputed some of their own Members or the University Inspector of Colleges to inspect schools and report to them and it would be open to the University under the Statute and the Regulations to dispense with the services now rendered by the Inspectors deputed by the Director of Public Instruction and themselves carry on the whole work of inspection.

In view of these facts, it seems to the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate quite impossible to accept the position that they shall not, if they so desire, depute competent persons selected by themselves to ascertain what teachers in Schools are competent to teach English and who should be recognised and registered as such in compliance with the recommendations of the report of the Committee on the Teaching of English. No doubt the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate would, in many cases, desire to avail themselves of the services of the Directors of Public Instruction of Bengal and Assam in order to ascertain this but, as I have already stated, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate are not prepared to abrogate their rights at the direction of Government and they adhere to the modification introduced in the Committee's report by the Syndicate and to which objection is now taken by Government.

The attitude now taken up by Government is tantamount to saying that the University cannot be trusted to honestly and efficiently carry out the work of recognition of teachers qualified to teach English.

This was not the view of the Committee when they left the task of recognition to the Directors of Public Instruction of Bengal and Assam but the report was shaped in the form which it finally took owing to the view of the Committee that the resources available to the University were not adequate to enable them to undertake the task. If, however, the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate think otherwise and that, at any rate, a portion of the work could be undertaken by the University, it is manifestly open to them to do so.

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate can only regret that

owing to the present attitude taken up by Government, a long delayed educational reform, emphasized as necessary by the University Commission and approved of by the University and by Government must be further delayed with a consequent set-back to the cause of education in the Schools of the Province."

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ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING.

The following letter from the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, on the subject of the disposal of the Senate House will be read with interest by our readers !

FROM

J. H. LINDSAY, Esq., M.A., I.C.S.,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

TO

THE REGISTRAR,

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

Calcutta, the 3rd August, 1926.

SIR,

I am directed to address you regarding the disposal of the Senate House, Calcutta, and its out-houses.

2. As Calcutta University are aware, the Senate House is an Imperial Building, borne on the books of the Public Works Department. It was built by the Government of India out of their own funds during the years 1870-73. In their Resolution No. 297, dated the 21st September, 1872, the Government of India in the Financial Department first decided to take over the building as an Imperial one and to defray all costs of repairs from the Imperial revenues. Subsequently, in the correspondence ending with your letter No. 753, dated the 25th August, 1877, that Government ordered that the cost of all repairs, whether annual or periodical, to the University Building would, in future, be defrayed by the University authorities. It was further laid down that the University

might be allowed to make their own arrangements for the execution of petty annual repairs but that all periodical repairs of a heavy nature should be entrusted to an officer of the Public Works Department who should certify to the good order of the building. In conformity with the above orders, arrangements were made with the University authorities under which all repairs of a petty description were to be executed by them without the intervention of Public Works Department but any repairs connected in any way with the stability of the structure were to be executed by the Public Works Department. An Executive Engineer of the Public Works Department was also instructed to inspect the building in January of each year and submit a special report on its condition for the information of Government. These arrangements still hold good. The electric installation in the Senate House, which the University provided at their own expense in 1903, is also inspected annually by an Electrical Engineer of the Public Works Department though it is maintained through private agency.

3. In view of the changed circumstances brought about by the introduction of the Reforms and of the promulgation of the new rules regulating the transfer of State lands and buildings between the Central and Provincial Governments, the Government of India have now addressed this Government on the question of the disposal of the building. As the control of the University passed over to the Local Government in 1921, it cannot now be said that the Government of India still require the buildings for the effective discharge of their duties. Under the new rules, when the Government of India no longer require buildings in any Province; which are in their possession, they are free to dispose of them either to the Local Government or to a third party. The alternatives for the Government of India are to sell the buildings outright either to the University authorities or to the Local Government, or failing this, to sell the buildings by public auction.

4. In these circumstances, I am directed to ascertain the views of the University on these alternatives proposed and in particular to enquire whether the University will be prepared to buy the buildings at their market value, the present value of the buildings, as estimated by this Government, being Rs. 5,00,000.

I have etc.,
J. H. LINDSAY.

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IN MEMORIAM.

We regret to announce the death of two of our most eminent Senators, Kaviraj Jamini Bhusan Roy and Khan Bahadur Aminul Islam. Kaviraj Jamini Bhusan Roy's whole life was dedicated to the cause of oriental learning and, in particular, to the system of Ayurvedic medicine. A product of the European system of culture, Jaminibhusan fought against the momentum of immemorial tradition and sacrificed his leisure, his life and practically all his earnings to the cause of the *Astanga Ayurveda Vidyalaya* which he had the proud privilege of establishing sometime ago. He leaves behind him an aged mother to whom he was deeply devoted and our respectful condolences go out to her, to his widow and to his children. May his soul rest in peace!

Khan Bahadur Aminul Islam was one of the most courteous of men that the Senate of the University ever came across. A firm believer in Hindu-Moslem unity, Aminul Islam's activities covered the Imperial and the Provincial Legislatures and his untimely death creates a void which it will be difficult to fill in the years to come. Our respectful condolences to his widow and to his children.

In the death of Professor B. V. Gupta, Bengal loses a distinguished educationist and the University of Calcutta one of its Honorary Fellows. Our respectful condolences go out to his widow and his son and daughters.

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LORD HALDANE ON THE ETHICS OF THE HINDUS.

Here is Lord Haldane's opinion on the work of a Post-Graduate lecturer :

28, QUEEN ANNE'S GATE,
WESTMINSTER.

31st July, 1926.

DEAR SIR,

I have received from you one copy sent to me by you, at the suggestion of the author, of Mr. S. K. Maitra's book on the Ethics of the

The Calcutta Review



KHAN BAHADUR AMINUL ISLAM

Hindus. The work is an interesting outcome of much research into the subject. It has the advantage of being a philosophical exposition of Hindu ethical ideas, instead of a mere history of the succession of these forms. The comparison with Western ideas on the subject I have found valuable.

Please thank the author from me.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) HALDANE.

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INDIAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY.

We have been requested to publish the following letters regarding the work done by the Indian Chemical Society, 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY.

King's Buildings
West Main's Road,
Edinburgh.

18th February, 1925.

MY DEAR RAY,

I am very pleased to see that the Indian Chemical Society's journal has had such a prosperous start. The Indian Scientific output becomes yearly greater, and of the quality of the work, no country, Eastern or Western could possibly be ashamed.

Yours sincerely,

SIR,

(Sd.) JAMES WALKER, K.B.E., F.R.S.

DEAR SIR,

In passing I would like to express my appreciation of the high standard of the Society's Journal. Since my return to England I showed it to many chemists of high renown in industrial chemical circles in the country who have all been more or less surprised at the amount of highly advanced research work that is being carried out in India.

Yours faithfully,

(Sd.) W. F. BROWN.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON,
THE LIBRARY,

26th May, 1926.

DEAR SIR,

For many years past the *Library of the British Association* for the Advancement of Science has been incorporated with that of these College, and we have received all publications sent in exchange for the Report of the Association. Unfortunately a year or two ago the Association's financial position compelled them to abolish their exchange list.

I am now in a position, however, to offer to exchange the Report of the Association *with a limited and selected number* of institutions, and I should be glad if you would let me know whether you are prepared to exchange your journal for the Report, commencing with the volume for 1926. I already have Parts 1 and 2 of Vol. I of the journal.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) (ILLEGIBLE.)

Librarian.

THE SECRETARY,
THE INDIAN CHEMICAL SOCIETY,
CALCUTTA.

The Council of the Indian Chemical Society consists of the following members:—

President: Sir P. C. Ray, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Sc.

Vice-Presidents: Gilbert J. Fowler, D.Sc., F.I.C., J. L. Simonsen, D.Sc., F.I.C., F.A.S.B., E. R. Watson, M.A., D.Sc.

Secretary: J. N. Mukherjee, D.Sc.

Editors: S. S. Bhatnagar, D.Sc., A. N. Meldrum, D.Sc.

Treasurer: P. C. Mitter, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council: H. E. Annett, D.Sc., R. L. Datta, D.Sc., F.I.C., B. B. Dey, D.Sc., F.I.C., N. R. Dhar, D.Sc., F.I.C., Dr. Es. Sc., J. C. Ghosh, D.Sc., D. D. Karve, Ph.D., K. G. Naik, D.Sc., F.I.C., A. R. Normand, M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., H. K. Sen, M.A., D.Sc., D.I.C., R. N. Sen, M.A., M.Sc., B. K. Singh, D.Sc., B. H. Wilsdon, M.A., B.Sc.

Honorary Auditors: K. C. Srinivasan, M.A., F.C.S., A.I. & A.S., M. Sen Gupta, M.A.

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THE GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE.

The Griffith Memorial Prize was awarded to

- (1) Dr. Ekendranath Ghosh—Ayurvedic Sphygmology;
- (2) Mr. Nirmalkumar Sidhanta—Poetry is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history, for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular ; and to
- (3) Mr. Jadunath Sinha—Love is Power

on the thesis mentioned against the name of each and the prize of Rs. 900 had, consequently, to be divided amongst them.

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PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIP.

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in scientific subjects for the year 1925 was divided equally between Mr. Parimalbikas Sen, M.Sc., and Mr. Harendranath Ray, M.Sc., their respective subjects being *Enzyme Ureasa naturally occurring in Plants* and *Account of the Intestinal Flagellates*.

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SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE MEDAL.

The Asutosh Mookerjee Medal for the year 1923 was awarded to Mr. Kshetramohon Bose, M.Sc.

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GURUPRASANNA GHOSE SCHOLARSHIP.

A Guruprasasanna Ghosh Scholarship of Rs. 2,000 per annum for three years was awarded to Mr. Bhupendranath

Ghosh, M.Sc., to enable him to proceed to England to specialise in the application of Physical Chemistry to agricultural problems and a scholarship of Rs. 1,000 per year for three years was awarded to each of the following candidates with a view to enabling them to specialize in the subject noted against the name of each :

- (1) Mr. Himadri Kumar Mookerjee, M.Sc.—In Entomology in the University of London.
- (2) Mr. Manindra Chandra Dasgupta—In Commercial and Industrial Arts in the Royal Academy Institution, London.

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THE ONAUTHNAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE.

The Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize for 1926 has been awarded to Mr. Nirmalkumar Sen.

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REAPPOINTMENT OF KHAIRA PROFESSORS.

The Proceedings of the Khaira Board record the following :

"I (a). That Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, C.I.E., D.Litt., be re-appointed Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts for three years with effect from the 1st October, 1926, on the same terms and conditions as before and that he be requested to be good enough to submit a scheme for the teaching and encouragement of the study of Fine Arts in this University with which it is desirable that he should be associated.

(b) That in the opinion of the Board it is desirable that the past and future lectures of Dr. Tagore should be printed by the University in book form as a University publication.

II. That Dr. Jnanendranath Mookerjee, M.Sc. (Cal.), D.Sc. (Lond.), be appointed permanently as Guruprasad Singh Professor of Chemistry,

he being allowed to continue in the services till he completes his 60th year.

III. That Dr. Nagendranath Gangulee, B.Sc. (Illinois), Ph.D. (Lond.), be re-appointed Guruprasad Singh Professor of Agriculture for a further period of five years with effect from the 1st December, 1926."

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B. T. AND L. T. EXAMINATION RESULTS.

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination was 67 of whom 55 passed, 10 failed and 2 were absent. Of the successful candidates 6 passed in the First Division.

The number of candidates registered for the L. T. Examination was 25 of whom 17 passed and 8 failed. Of the successful candidates 5 passed in the First Division.

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MEDICAL EXAMINATION RESULTS, APRIL, 1926.

Preliminary Scientific M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 217 of whom 164 passed, 47 failed, one was expelled and 5 were absent.

First M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 312 of whom 167 passed, 142 failed and 3 were absent.

Final M. B.—

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 14 of whom 2 passed and 12 failed. Of those who failed, 6 passed in Part II.

number of candidates registered for Part I. At the examination was 293 of whom 100 passed, 183 failed and one absent.

There was only one candidate for Part I (Old) but he

The number of candidates registered for Part II was 160 of whom 111 passed, 48 failed and one was absent.

SUBJECTS FOR TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP.

The Faculty of Law chose the following subjects for the Tagore Law Professorship for the coming year:

1. The History of Hindu Law in the Vedic Age and in Post-Vedic down to the Institutes of Manu.

2. History of Legal Development in India during the Period of British Administration in India.

3. Principles and History of Insurance Law with special reference

A CORRECTION.

This issue—first page, last line, footnote, read *August* *April*.